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POPE'S
ESSAY ON MAN

F. RYLAND

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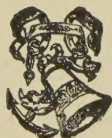
POPE'S ESSAY ON MAN

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix
THE DESIGN	3
EPISTLE I.	5
EPISTLE II.	17
EPISTLE III.	29
EPISTLE IV.	41
THE UNIVERSAL PRAYER	55
NOTES	57

INTRODUCTION.

THE first Epistle of the "Essay on Man" was published during February, 1733, in three forms—folio, quarto, and octavo. "Printed for J. Wilford at the Three Flower-de-luces, behind the Chapter House, St. Paul's. Price one shilling." The second Epistle was issued in April, and the third later in the same year; the fourth appeared in the succeeding January. They were issued without any author's name, and according to Pope himself (as reported by Warburton) were variously ascribed to Edward Young, the author of "The Universal Passion" (1725) and "Night Thoughts" (1742), to Lord Bolingbroke, and to some lesser and now forgotten writers.

To Bolingbroke it, indeed, owed much. When the versatile and restless politician settled down at his country seat at Dawley,¹ he seems to have taken Pope's philosophical education in hand. He himself had read Spinoza and Leibnitz, and seems to have had a general smattering of the classical Greek and Latin moralists. Without possessing any real speculative ability, he had a considerable spasmodic interest in some of the great questions they dealt with. He belonged in effect to the group of English thinkers generally known as Deists; but while Shaftesbury, Toland, Tindal, Woolston, and Collins more or less violently attacked the current beliefs of Englishmen,

¹ For details of Bolingbroke's life, see below, p. 57.

he maintained in his printed writings the strictest reserve. It was not till after his death, when his philosophical writings were published by his literary executor, David Mallet (1754), that his real opinions became generally known. It was then seen that Bolingbroke rejected the doctrine of a revelation and of the immortality of the soul; that the Christian creed and the Hebrew Bible were for him both cunningly devised fables; and that in his conclusions, if not in his standpoint, he belonged to the dreaded yet despised company of Deists. Boswell, who fairly well represents the opinion of the ordinary educated reader in such a matter, speaks of Bolingbroke's philosophical essays as "wild and pernicious ravings," and relates with delight Dr. Johnson's "memorable sentence upon the noble author": "Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward; a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward, because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman to draw the trigger after his death."¹

To Bolingbroke the very existence of the "Essay on Man" is due. He dragged Pope from the violence and scurrility of his ignoble warfare with the Dunces, and engaged him in a task more worthy of his genius and his fame—a new *apologia* for faith and hope and charity. His exact share in the execution of the plan cannot, however, be quite clearly determined, in spite of a number of more or less authoritative statements.

Lord Bathurst (who died in 1774), a friend of Pope, told Dr. Hugh Blair, the Scotch professor, that the "Essay" was "composed by Lord Bolingbroke in prose, and that Mr. Pope did no more than put it into verse." This was in 1763, and in 1779 Blair wrote to Boswell an account of the

¹ Boswell's "Life," Bohn, i. 203.

conversation.¹ Dr. Joseph Warton, in his edition of Pope,² also states that Lord Bathurst had "repeatedly assured" him that he had seen "the whole scheme of the 'Essay on Man' in the handwriting of Lord Bolingbroke, and drawn up in a series of propositions, which Pope was to amplify, versify, and illustrate." That Bolingbroke did actually communicate a number of opinions and arguments which Pope embodied in his poem was frankly owned by the poet himself. Dr. Joseph Spence³ records that Pope several times "mentioned how much (or rather how wholly) he himself was obliged to him [Bolingbroke] for the thoughts and reasonings in his moral work; and once in particular said, that besides their frequent talking over that subject together, he had received, I think, seven or eight sheets from Lord Bolingbroke in relation to it, as I apprehended by way of letters, both to direct the plan in general, and to supply the matter for the particular epistles."

Other testimony, though less strong, exists to the same effect.⁴ In the face of this evidence it seems to me that Dr. Johnson puts the matter a little too strongly when he says that "the 'Essay' plainly appears the fabric of a poet; what Bolingbroke supplied could only have been the first principles; the order, illustrations, and embellishments must all be Pope's."⁵ Pope expressly suggests, if we may take Spence literally, that the order was partly determined by Bolingbroke, and also the particular sub-

¹ Boswell's "Life," iii. 391.

² Warton's "Pope," iii. 8.

³ Spence's "Anecdotes" (1858), pp. 108-109.

⁴ See Isaac D'Israeli's "Quarrels of Authors" (Warburton), where an anonymous pamphlet (believed by D'Israeli to be by Mallet himself) is quoted to the effect that "a large prose manuscript" was given by Bolingbroke to Pope, who borrowed from it, "not only the doctrine, but even the finest and strongest ornaments" of the poem.

⁵ "Life of Pope," edited by the present editor, p. 58. Compare Boswell, iii. 392.

jects to be treated of. A comparison of the "Essay" with Bolingbroke's writings, and particularly with the "Fragments or Minutes of Essays," shows a marked agreement of topics and even illustrations. In the "Advertisement" prefixed to the "Fragments" (vol. v. of Mallet's edition, 1754) we are told that "the foregoing essays, if they may deserve even that name, and the Fragments or Minutes that follow were thrown upon paper in Mr. Pope's lifetime and at his desire. They were all communicated to him in scraps, as they were occasionally writ. . . . They are all nothing more than repetitions of conversations often interrupted, often renewed, and often carried on a little confusedly."

Mr. Churton Collins rejects the suggestion that the "Fragment or Minutes of Essays" represent the whole of the indebtedness of Pope to Bolingbroke—that they are the "series of propositions which Pope was to amplify, versify, and illustrate," seen by Lord Bathurst in the handwriting of Bolingbroke. These "Fragments" were printed, as we have seen, in 1754. "Bathurst, interested in everything that concerned Pope, could scarcely have failed to inspect them, or, at all events, to have been apprised of their contents. Had they been identical with the manuscript which he had seen on Pope's desk, the circumstance must have struck him, and he would have hastened to corroborate his assertion by pointing to the proof." Besides, they are much too long and too elaborate to quite answer to Bathurst's description. They are not a "series of propositions," needing amplification and illustration, but elaborated essays of considerable length, occupying a whole volume in Mallet's edition. On the other hand, there is no evidence of the existence of any other manuscript answering more closely to that described by Lord Bathurst.

Bolingbroke has small importance as a philosophical thinker. He is inconsistent, unoriginal, and tedious. He

invariably uses a dozen words where one will do; and seldom or never do we come across a passage of marked wit or insight to atone for the prevailing verbosity. He has in a high degree the fatal eighteenth century gift for uttering impressive platitudes in admirably clear English. But the importance of his influence on English thought, exercised almost entirely through the ethical poetry of his friend Pope, is much greater than historians of philosophy have usually recognized.

It is worth while to give here a brief account of some of his chief opinions, as far as possible in his own language, so that the student may compare them with those put forward in the "Essay on Man." Bolingbroke accepts the existence of a God who can be known from a consideration of His works. He rejects all professed revelations, and is never weary of ridiculing the teaching of the Old Testament. With noisy satire he constantly links together as common enemies of religion "atheists and divines." He rejects the belief in the immortality of the soul. "I do not say," he remarks, "that to believe a future state is to believe a vulgar error; but this I say, it cannot be demonstrated by reason; it is not in the nature of it capable of demonstration." "It was taken upon trust by the people who first adopted it, and made prevalent by art and industry among the vulgar who never examine, till it came to be doubted, disputed, and denied by such as did examine. It was made, like many other opinions that had no better foundations, subservient to philosophical systems, and political institutions." "Let us be convinced, however, in opposition to atheists and divines, that the general state of mankind in the present scheme of providence is a state not only tolerable but happy."¹

Deeply influenced by Leibnitz, and to some extent by

¹ "Works," v. 351-352; v. 382 (1754).

Spinoza, Bolingbroke is an Optimist in all but name. He is absolutely satisfied with the universe, if it is only taken as a whole. "The whole world, nay, the whole universe, is filled with beings which are all connected in one immense design. . . . The nature of every creature, his manner of being, is adapted to his state here, to the place he is to inhabit, and, as we may say, to the part he is to act. If man was a creature inferior or superior to what he is, he would be a very preposterous creature in this system." . . . "I do not think that philosophers have shown in every instance why everything is what it is and as it is, or that nothing could be in any case otherwise than it is without producing a greater inconveniency to the whole than the particular inconveniency that would be removed. But I am sure that it has been proved in so many instances that it is trifling, as well as profane, to deny it in any. We complain often of our senses, and sometimes of our reasoning faculties. Both are defective, weak, fallible: and yet if the former were more extensive, more acute, and more nice, they would not answer the purposes of human life, they would be absolutely inconsistent with them. Just so, if our reasoning faculties were more perfect than they are, the order of intellectual beings would be broken unnecessarily, and man would be raised above his proper form without any real advantage to himself, since the reason he has is sufficient for him in the state allotted to him; and since higher faculties, and greater degrees of knowledge, would on one hand increase his presumption, and yet on the other would rather excite than sate his curiosity, by showing him more clearly the extent of his ignorance."¹

The editor of the best modern edition of Pope's works—the Rev. John Elwin—gives a lurid account of the relation between Bolingbroke and Pope. He adopts a view of

¹ "Works," v. 377-378.

Bolingbroke as unfavourable as that of Johnson, and he colours it with something of Garrick's more grandiose denunciation, who sings how :

“Black as the whirlwinds of the North
St. John's fell genius issued forth.”

“Bolingbroke,” Mr. Elwin tells us, “amused his unwelcome leisure during his exile in studying the infidel philosophy which prevailed in France.” On his return “he soon contracted an intimacy with Pope, and imparted to him his irreligious metaphysics. Pope, ignorant of mental, moral, and theological science, mistook his oracular arrogance for real supremacy, his discordant sophisms for demonstrations, his hackneyed plagiarisms for originality.” He then persuaded the poet to put his sceptical poison into an attractive form. Most critics affect to believe that Pope never really understood the essentially unorthodox character of the opinions he advanced. But Mr. Elwin affirms that he agreed with Bolingbroke's repudiation of Christianity. He diverged only in respect of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which he accepted but which Bolingbroke did not.¹ “His plan was to put forward a scheme of natural religion without repudiating Christianity in terms, that he might be able to give his poem any interpretation he pleased.” He held different language when writing to his orthodox friends, such as Caryll, and when writing to Bolingbroke, his guide, philosopher, and friend.

This may be the true statement of the case, and when one considers the shiftY statements in the correspondence it is difficult to avoid it. But after all probably Pope had no very definite opinions. He most likely, as Mr. Leslie Stephen says, only intended to “represent the most cultivated thought of the time, and accepted Bolingbroke as its representative.”

¹ Elwin and Courthope, ii. 271-284.

A little more heterodoxy, or a little less, did not weigh with him, except in so far as it might endanger his popularity and his ease. He wanted material for a poem—a set of philosophic sentiments which should appeal to the candour and common sense of his readers, and be easily susceptible of epigrammatic expression. Such a set of opinions, not yet worn out by use, he got ready-made from Bolingbroke, and he had neither the speculative ability nor the speculative inclination necessary to think out their consequences. They were fresh and up-to-date, and full of the affectation of tolerance which came in with the Revolution. That they were somewhat unorthodox he knew; but he probably did not realize that they cut at the very root of revealed religion.

He was no doubt nervous about the reception of the poem. "I know your precaution enough to know that you will screen yourself against any direct charge of heterodoxy," writes Lord Bolingbroke to him; and he guarded against it, not only by anonymous publication, but by putting an orthodox construction on the poem in his private letters, and later by accepting the championship of Warburton.

At first no protest was heard. It was not until Crousaz published his "*Examen de l'Essai de M. Pope*" (Lausanne, 1737), and his "*Commentaire*" on the Abbé Resnel's translation of the work (1738), that orthodox suspicion was aroused.

Jean Pierre de Crousaz (1663-1750), a writer on logic, geometry, education, and philosophy, professor at Groningen, and afterwards at Lausanne, had twenty years before written against Anthony Collins, the English free-thinker (1718). His works on Pope are very different in character. The "*Examen*" is fairly effective, and displays some critical power; though his allusions to the opinions of Leibnitz are surprisingly superficial, and I fancy all at second-hand. He accuses Pope of "Spinozism"

and Fatalism, and shows without much difficulty that his "system" is destructive of the bases on which Christianity rests. Here and there he gives evidence of some sense of humour in bringing out the weak points of Pope's doctrines: "Quel bonheur qu'il y ait en des Nérons et des Héliogabales, puisque cela est arrivé, le bien de l'Univers exigeoit qu'il arrivât. Sans des Nérons et des Héliogabales un chaînon auroit manqué, et dès là, puisque toutes les pièces tiennent l'une à l'autre, le bouleversement seroit parvenu jusques sur le throne de Dieu" (pp. 90, 91). The "Commentaire," on the other hand, has nothing to recommend it. It is written in a tone of dull evangelical exhortation, and in all its minute criticism scarcely makes a single point well. Oddly enough, he says nothing to show that he is aware that Pope's "system" had been in the main anticipated by Leibnitz.

Crousaz's attacks, however, were widely read, and Pope became seriously alarmed. He may, or he may not, have understood that the principles he put forward made revealed religion a sham; but at any rate the possibility of becoming a martyr for Deism did not seem attractive. Luckily he secured the assistance of the most audacious and loud-lunged writer on the orthodox side—William Warburton, rector of Burnt (or Brant) Broughton and chaplain to the Prince of Wales. Originally an attorney, this man carried into the Church the characteristics of his former profession. Bolingbroke described him, not without justification, as "the most impudent man living." He had already acquired some degree of reputation on account of his "Alliance between Church and State" (1736), and his extraordinary book, "The Divine Legation of Moses" (vol. i., January, 1738), in which he undertook to show that the omission of the doctrine of a future state in the Mosaic works, so far from being an obstacle to faith, is a convincing proof that the Hebrew lawgiver was really

directly inspired and commissioned by God. He was the friend of some of Pope's many literary enemies, including Theobald, the rival editor of Shakespeare, and the original hero of the "Dunciad." According to a piece of gossip reported by Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, Warburton, when the "Essay on Man" first appeared, denounced it as a collection of the worst passages of the worst authors, and described it as "rank atheism." He even read a paper against it at a literary club at Newark. But for reasons which have never been explained he changed his opinion, and passed from extravagant denunciation to equally extravagant praise. He wrote some papers (the first appeared in December, 1738) in a monthly literary review called "The Works of the Learned," in which he mentions that Pope exceeded all previous writers in wit and sublimity. Pope was delighted with the letters, which were republished in book form in 1740, and expressed with much effusion his gratitude to his unsought defender. "It is indeed the same system as mine, but illustrated with a ray of your own, as they say our natural body is the same still when it is glorified. I am sure I like it better than I did before, and so will every man else. I know I meant just what you explain; but I did not explain my own meaning so well as you. You understand me as well as I do myself; but you express me better than I could express myself."¹ It is pleasant to know that the poet's gratitude by no means ended with acknowledgments. He introduced Warburton to his friend, Ralph Allen, the owner of Prior Park, Bath, and the Squire Allworthy of "Tom Jones." Two years after the date of this letter Warburton married Allen's favourite niece, and in due time became the owner of Prior Park, as well as Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

¹ Letter of Pope to Warburton, March 24th, 1743.

Modern critics are agreed in pointing out the incoherent and fragmentary character of the poem. It has achieved its enormous popularity on account of the number of disconnected truths and half-truths, expressed with unfailing force and vivacity, which adorn its pages. The general argument few can understand, and still fewer take any interest in. The poem is not a single flawless gem which owes nearly all its value to its unity, but a *parure* of brilliants, each of which has its separate value.

The frontispiece to the "Essay on Man" (which may be seen reproduced in the second volume of Elwin's "Pope") was probably designed by the poet himself, who had studied painting under the fashionable portrait painter, Jervas; and it gives a not inadequate suggestion of the method of the poem. Designed to represent the variety of human glory, it embraces a number of ill-drawn symbolical objects—a portion of the Colosseum, a broken column from the Capitol, a shattered statue of an emperor, a tomb, the figure of a man blowing bubbles, and other disconnected and fragmentary representations, laboriously collected from various sources, and yielding no unity of impression or sense of mastery over the materials. The same confusion, the same irrelevance, the same want of direct purpose mars the effect of the "Essay" itself. Writing to Caryl in December, 1730, Pope says he is writing "on human life and manners" with a moral aim; and "I have many fragments which I am beginning to put together."¹ If this refers, as it probably does, to the "Essay on Man," it helps to explain the want of coherence which is everywhere apparent.

In the poet we do not look either for the first announcement of philosophic truths, or for their exactly logical proof. We expect, however, to see them grasped by the

¹ Elwin and Courthope, vi. 325-326.

poet earlier than by the average man, more widely applied, and more keenly apprehended. Absolute consistency of statement and rigid demonstration we can spare, but we hope for eloquence and clearness, insight and passion. Now all these last are to be found in Pope's "Essay on Man." Earlier in the century than any other European writer of the first rank who was not a professed philosopher he caught sight of the new ideas which were to modify so profoundly the philosophy, theology, and literature of the coming age, and expressed them with incomparably greater force and beauty, and incomparably deeper emotion. The close relation between God and Nature, which makes this world a revelation of God, a theophany, as one of the greatest fathers of the Church called it; the continuity and unity of Nature, which abolishes the great gulf between spiritual and physical phenomena, and finds in both alike a reign of law; the unthinkableness of a religion based on the conception of God as an arbitrary Master; these ideas, to name no others, are expressed by Pope better than by any other writer of his time.

That he was less original than Wordsworth we may admit; he stood rather in the position of Tennyson or Browning, whose works often exhibit in a poetical form thoughts which had already been uttered in a less impressive manner by prose writers.

The leading ideas of the "Essay on Man" are the continuity of Nature, the close relation between God and Nature, and the doctrine of Optimism.

On the first of them something is said below in a note on p. 59.

The second shows Pope in antagonism to the prevailing drift of thought in the eighteenth century. Both the Deists and their orthodox opponents usually spoke of God as a Being Whose creative activity was complete and even exhausted at the beginning of the universe. They spoke

of Him as a craftsman, or builder, Who had made the world as men make a watch or a house. The better the workman, the less need for subsequent interference; so that any further exercise of creative energy must be regarded as practically impossible in the case of an all-wise and all-powerful Deity. They regarded with affright any assertion that God is immanent in the world, that He abides in it and animates it. Such a view they denounced as an approach to the doctrine of Spinoza, who had identified God with the "substance," or metaphysical reality underlying the visible and tangible universe. Such a doctrine seemed to materialize God, and to be absolutely incompatible with the belief in Him as the Creator of the world. Whatever Spinoza may have meant, there is no need to connect Atheism with the doctrine that "in Him we live and move and have our being." This "higher Pantheism" is found in some of the early fathers of the Church (especially of the Alexandrian school) as well as in some of the Platonic and Stoic writers. Even during the eighteenth century it still commended itself to the poets, though it had been banished from the philosophical schools. Thus Thomson gave expression to it about the same time as Pope:

"Inspiring God! who boundless Spirit all,
And unremitting Energy, pervades,
Adjusts, sustains, and agitates the whole.
He ceaseless works alone; and yet alone
Seems not to work."¹

At the end of the century it reached its finest expression in some of the earlier poems of Wordsworth. Pope was not a Deist, for he did not accept the "clock-maker theory" of creation which was the basis of their attack on Christianity. It was not without some shadow of reason

¹ "The Seasons" (Spring).

that Crousaz called him a "Spinozist," though there is an all-important difference between the view which identifies God with the metaphysical "substance" of the universe and that which regards the phenomena of Nature as a kind of theophany, or any rate as a body of which God is the soul. On Spinoza's theory we can make no effective distinction between God and the things of sense. On the other theory he is the *anima mundi*. According to the doctrine of Aristotle and the Scholastic philosophers, the soul is that which gives both form and vitality to the body. It literally "informs" the body, which would otherwise be mere unformed matter, without definite attributes or shape. When Pope says,

"All are but parts of one tremendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul,"

he has in view this relation, and not a merely external and mechanical one. The plain man is rather apt to think that any soul can "inhabit" any body, and that no difficulties can occur with regard to fit. The Aristotelians thought that the soul built up its own body, which was therefore a consequence and an expression of the energies of a spiritual reality. And Pope conceives God's relation to the world as analogous to this.

Pope's Optimism is taken indirectly from Leibnitz, who first formulated the doctrine¹ as a means of reply to the objections brought against the belief in God. In the "Théodicée" (published 1710) Leibnitz laid down that God being infinitely wise and good, out of all possible universes must have chosen the best, and that therefore any evil we see here must be a necessary condition of a

¹ No absolute beginning can be assigned for a doctrine any more than for a natural form or social institution. The doctrine in a less definite shape can be traced back at least as far as St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century.

greater amount of good than would exist in any other possible universe. He taught that this is the best of all possible worlds; hence the theory was known by the name of Optimism. To what an extravagant conservatism this doctrine was likely to lead can be easily imagined. It exactly suited the temper of an age which seemed too devoted to pleasure to care about disturbing the abuses which had accumulated since the break-down of the mediæval constitution of society. Face to face with new sorrows and new vices, the average sensual man could lay this flattering unction to his soul, "Whatever is, is right." The awakening came at the middle of the century with the earthquake of Lisbon and the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire.

It is interesting to compare Pope's apology for religion with that of Milton. The comparison is suggested by Pope himself. His object, like his great predecessor, was, as he tells us, "to vindicate the ways of God to man." But how differently he goes to work! In the seventeenth century the belief of the vast majority of educated people was still Christian and puritanical. The literal truth of the Bible story of the Fall was accepted without a suggestion of doubt by the readers of "Paradise Lost." The difficulties that it presents were as yet unperceived; and Milton does not hesitate to add to them by his frank materializing. For him and his readers Jehovah is entirely anthropomorphic. He addresses those who will find nothing difficult of belief in the extraordinary debate between the Father and the Son which fills the early part of Book III. The justification which Milton sets before him is to be accomplished by making the story of the Fall, as told in the Bible, strictly intelligible. He has no fear lest his audience should be shocked at it, much less that they should laugh at it.

When we come to the age of the early Georges all this

naïve confidence in the Hebrew story has gone. Pope is addressing sceptics who ridiculed the notion that Moses wrote the Book of Genesis, or, indeed, that any revelation from God had ever taken place. He appeals to Nature and to Man, to the teachings of philosophers and poets, and not to the authority of the Scripture. The "licentious reasoners," of whom Butler spoke, adopted only the negative teaching of Hobbes, and regarded religion as the invention of priests and politicians. The existence of evil was put forward as a reason for not believing in the existence of God. Pope had to deal with "society-people," who, like Swift's "two young gentlemen of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment," had discovered, "by the mere force of natural abilities, without the least tincture of learning," that there was no God. His attempt "to vindicate the ways of God to man" is in point of fact an effort to show that the existence of even moral evil does not compel us to conclude either that God is weak or that God does not care for righteousness; both of which conclusions are, of course, equivalent to a denial of God altogether.

It is not necessary to dwell on the insufficient equipment of Pope for the task, and his deficiencies in reading, in critical ability, and in philosophical temper. These are obvious to the careful reader, and are sufficiently indicated in the Notes.¹ Bolingbroke, to whom he owed so much, was himself a poor guide in these matters.

A few words should be added as to Pope's rhymes. The student will encounter a number of rhymes which are, from a modern point of view, unsatisfactory. These fall into two classes.

(1) There are cases where the modern pronunciation has shifted from the pronunciation of Pope's time. This

¹ See, for instance, the notes to ii. 101 and iv. 21, 23, 24.

is undoubtedly the case in most of the *ee*, *ea*, *ei* rhymes. These vowels were nearly always pronounced as the typical Irishman pronounces them now, that is, like the continental *e* (our *ea* in *great* and *ey* in *obey*). Thus our *tea* answers to the French *thé*. Compare the famous couplet from the "Rape of the Lock":

"Here thou, great Anna, whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take—and sometimes tea."

Occasionally long *e* (indicated by *e* followed by a consonant and silent *e*) was similarly pronounced. Notice especially the following pairs: *sphere—there* (i. 73, 74), *bear—sphere* (i. 285, 286), *sphere—fair* (ii. 23, 24), *everywhere—sincere* (iv. 15, 16), *Lucrece—race* (iv. 207, 208), *take—weak* (iv. 227, 228), *cheat—great* (iv. 229, 230), *shade—dead* (iv. 243, 244), *great—complete* (iv. 287, 288). Again, the diphthong *oi* was pronounced like the German *ei*, that is, like what we call the long *i* (really a diphthong, *ai*, that is, *ah—ee*). Thus *join—line* (i. 227, 228), *joined—mind* (ii. 203, 204) occur. *Ow* was apparently pronounced as *oo*; at any rate, *cowl—fool* form a rhyme in iv. 199, 200. Long *u* was probably pronounced like *oo* (the true continental long *u*, for ours is a diphthong); thus *endued—good* (iii. 13, 14), *view—too* (iii. 73, 74). But these are less certain than the pronunciation of *e* and *oi*.

The evidence that the pronunciation of Pope's time was what is here asserted, may be seen in A. J. Ellis's "Early English Pronunciation" (5 vols., especially vol. iv., pp. 1072 *seq.*). No one having a tolerable acquaintance with seventeenth and eighteenth century literature can have any doubt about it.

(2) There are distinctly loose rhymes which cannot be defended on the ground of change of pronunciation, but which were probably, in part, at any rate, due to traditional literary usage: *e.g.*, *ill—principle* (ii. 175, 176), *joy—luxury*

(iii. 61, 62), *giv'n—heav'n* (iv. 161, 162), *ease—provinces* (iv. 297, 298), *road—God* (iv. 331, 332).

Some appear to be mere printer's rhymes, though we should not be too ready to assume this. Thus we find *good—food* (iii. 27, 28), *flood—food* (iii. 96, 100), *wood—flood* (iii. 119, 120).

The fourth Epistle contains more than its proper proportion of bad rhymes, and shows more than Pope's usual readiness to repeat the same rhymes within a small space of each other. Notice especially the passage 299-308. In the short space of ten lines we have the following rhymes: *fame—shame, invade—shade, ray—day, fame—shame*, all with the same vowel. Between lines 315 and 326 we have *gain—pain, blessed—distressed, oppressed—blessed, remain—gain*. In lines 327 to 348 we have *bestow—know, blind—find, road—God, design—divine, know—below, whole—soul, began—man, goal—soul, unconfin'd—mind, alone—unknown, kind—find*; in fact, with one exception, the only vowels used for this set of eleven rhymes are long *o* and long *i* (diphthong *ei* or *ai*). We are accustomed to look up to Pope as a master of technique, but no modern poetaster would dare to be as slovenly as Pope shows himself in this passage.

AN ESSAY ON MAN.

IN FOUR EPISTLES.

TO

HENRY ST. JOHN, LORD BOLINGBROKE.

THE DESIGN.

HAVING proposed to write some pieces on human life and manners, such as (to use my Lord Bacon's expression) "come home to men's business and bosoms," I thought it more satisfactory to begin with considering Man in the abstract, his nature and his state; since, to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what condition and relation it is placed in, and what is the proper end and purpose of its being.

The science of human nature is, like all other sciences, reduced to a few clear points: there are not many certain truths in this world. It is therefore in the anatomy of the mind as in that of the body: more good will accrue to mankind by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts, than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels, the conformations and uses of which will for ever escape our observation. The disputes are all upon these last, and I will venture to say, they have less sharpened the wits than the hearts of men against each other, and have diminished the practice, more than advanced the theory, of morality. If I could flatter myself that this Essay has any merit, it is in steering betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite, in passing over terms utterly unintelligible, and in forming a temperate yet not inconsistent, and a short yet not imperfect, system of ethics.

This I might have done in prose; but I chose verse, and even rhyme, for two reasons. The one will appear obvious; that principles, maxims, or precepts so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards. The other may seem odd, but is true; I found I could express them more shortly this way than in prose itself; and nothing is more certain, than that much of the force as well as grace of arguments or instructions, depends on their conciseness. I was unable to treat this part of my subject more in detail, without becoming dry and tedious; or more poetically, without sacrificing perspicuity to ornament, without wandering from the precision, or breaking the chain of reasoning: if any man can unite all these without diminution of any of them, I freely confess he will compass a thing above my capacity.

What is now published, is only to be considered as a general map of Man, marking out no more than the greater parts, their extent, their limits, and their connexion, but leaving the particular to be more fully delineated in the charts which are to follow. Consequently, these Epistles in their progress (if I have health and leisure to make any progress) will be less dry, and more susceptible of poetical ornament. I am here only opening the fountains, and clearing the passage. To deduce the rivers, to follow them in their course, and to observe their effects, may be a task more agreeable.

EPISTLE I

ARGUMENT OF EPISTLE I.

OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN WITH RESPECT TO THE UNIVERSE.

Of Man in the abstract—I. That we can judge only with regard to our own system, being ignorant of the relation of systems and things, ver. 17, etc. II. That Man is not to be deemed imperfect, but a being suited to his place and rank in the creation, agreeable to the general order of things, and conformable to ends and relations to him unknown, ver. 35, etc. III. That it is partly upon his ignorance of future events, and partly upon the hope of a future state, that all his happiness in the present depends, ver. 77, etc. IV. The pride of aiming at more knowledge, and pretending to more perfection, the cause of man's error and misery. The impiety of putting himself in the place of God, and judging of the fitness or unfitness, perfection or imperfection, justice or injustice, of his dispensations, ver. 113, etc. V. The absurdity of conceiting himself the final cause of the creation, or expecting that perfection in the moral world, which is not in the natural, ver. 131, etc. VI. The unreasonableness of his complaints against Providence, while on the one hand he demands the perfections of the angels, and on the other the bodily qualifications of the brutes, though, to possess any of the sensitive faculties in a higher degree, would render him miserable, ver. 173, etc. VII. That throughout the whole visible world, an universal order and gradation in the sensual and mental faculties is observed, which causes a subordination of creature to creature, and of all creatures to Man. The gradations of sense, instinct, thought, reflection, reason ; that reason alone countervails all the other faculties, ver. 207. VIII. How much farther this order and subordination of living creatures may extend, above and below us ; were any part of which broken, not that part only, but the whole connected creation, must be destroyed, ver. 233. IX. The extravagance, madness, and pride of such a desire, ver. 259. X. The consequence of all, the absolute submission due to Providence, both as to our present and future state, ver. 281, etc., to the end.

AN ESSAY ON MAN.

EPISTLE I.

A WAKE, my St. John! leave all meaner things
To low ambition and the pride of kings.

Let us, since life can little more supply,

Than just to look about us, and to die,

Expatriate free o'er all this scene of Man;

5

A mighty maze! but not without a plan;

A wild, where weeds and flowers promiscuous shoot;

Or garden, tempting with forbidden fruit.

Together let us beat this ample field,

Try what the open, what the covert yield;

10

The latent tracts, the giddy heights explore,

Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar;

Eye Nature's walks, shoot folly as it flies,

And catch the manners living as they rise,

Laugh where we must, be candid where we can;

15

But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

I. Say first, of God above, or Man below,

What can we reason, but from what we know?

Of Man, what see we but his station here,

From which to reason, or to which refer?

20

Through worlds unnumbered, though the God be known,

'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.

He, who through vast immensity can pierce,

See worlds on worlds compose one universe,

Observe how system into system runs,
 What other planets circle other suns,
 What varied Being peoples every star,
 May tell why Heaven has made us as we are.

25

But of this frame the bearings and the ties,
 The strong connexions, nice dependencies,
 Gradations just, has thy pervading soul
 Looked through? or can a part contain the whole?

Is the great chain, that draws all to agree,
 And drawn supports, upheld by God or thee?

II. Presumptuous Man! the reason wouldst thou find,
 Why formed so weak, so little, and so blind?

36

First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
 Why formed no weaker, blinder, and no less?
 Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks are made
 Taller or stronger than the weeds they shade?

40

Or ask of yonder argent fields above,
 Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove?

Of systems possible, if 'tis confessed,
 That Wisdom infinite must form the best,

Where all must full, or not coherent be,
 And all that rises, rise in due degree;

45

Then in the scale of reasoning life, 'tis plain,
 There must be, somewhere, such a rank as Man:
 And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)
 Is only this, if God has placed him wrong.

50

Respecting Man, whatever wrong we call,
 May, must be right, as relative to all.

In human works, though laboured on with pain,
 A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain;
 In God's, one single can its end produce,
 Yet serves to second too some other use.

55

So Man, who here seems principal alone,
 Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
 Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal;

tends to

'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole. 60

When the proud steed shall know why Man restrains
His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;
When the dull ox, why now he breaks the clod, *from the clod*
Is now a victim, and now Egypt's god:
Then shall Man's pride and dulness comprehend 65
His actions', passions', being's, use and end;
Why doing, suffering, checked, impelled; and why
This hour a slave, the next a deity.

Then say not Man's imperfect, Heaven in fault;
Say rather, Man's as perfect as he ought: 70
His knowledge measured to his state and place;
His time a moment, and a point his space.
If to be perfect in a certain sphere,
What matter, soon or late, or here or there?
The blest to-day is as completely so, 75
As who began a thousand years ago.

III. Heaven from all creatures hides the book of Fate,
All but the page prescribed, their present state:
From brutes what men, from men what spirits know:
Or who could suffer being here below? 80
The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?
Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food,
And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.
Oh blindness to the future! kindly given, 85
That each may fill the circle marked by Heaven:
Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurled,
'And now a bubble burst, and now a world. 90

Hope humbly then; with trembling pinions soar;
Wait the great teacher, Death; and God adore
What future bliss, He gives not thee to know,
But gives that hope to be thy blessing now.

Hope springs eternal in the human breast: 95
 Man never Is, but always To be blest.
 The soul, uneasy, and confined from home,
 Rests and expatiates in a life to come.

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind 100
 Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind;
 His soul, proud Science never taught to stray
 Far as the solar walk or Milky Way;
 Yet simple Nature to his hope has given,
 Behind the cloud-topped hill, an humbler heaven;
 Some safer world in depths of woods embraced, 105
 Some happier island in the watery waste,
 Where slaves once more their native land behold,
 No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
 To Be, contents his natural desire,
 He asks no angel's wings, no seraph's fire; 110
 But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
 His faithful dog shall bear him company.

IV. Go, wiser thou! and in thy scale of sense, 115
 Weigh thy opinion against Providence;
 Call imperfection what thou fanciest such,
 Say, Here He gives too little, there too much:
 Destroy all creatures for thy sport or gust.
 Yet cry, If Man's unhappy, God's unjust;
 If man alone engross not Heaven's high care,
 Alone made perfect here, immortal there: 120
 Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
 Re-judge his justice, be the god of God.
 In pride, in reasoning pride, our error lies;
 All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.
 Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes, 125
 Men would be angels, angels would be gods.
 Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell,
 Aspiring to be angels, men rebel:
 And who but wishes to invert the laws

Of Order, sins against the Eternal Cause. 130

V. Ask for what end the heavenly bodies shine,
 Earth for whose use? Pride answers, "'Tis for mine :
 For me kind Nature wakes her genial power,
 Suckles each herb, and spreads out every flower;
 Annual for me, the grape, the rose renew 135
 The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew;
 For me, the mine a thousand treasures brings;
 For me, health gushes from a thousand springs;
 Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise;
 My footstool earth, my canopy the skies." *clw* 140

But errs not Nature from this gracious end,
 From burning suns when livid deaths descend,
 When earthquakes swallow or when tempests sweep
 Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep?
 "No ('tis replied) the first Almighty Cause 145
 Acts not by partial, but by general laws;
 The exceptions few; some change since all began:
 And what created perfect?"—Why then Man?
 If the great end be human happiness,
 Then Nature deviates; and can Man do less? 150
 As much that end a constant course requires
 Of showers and sunshine, as of Man's desires;
 As much eternal springs and cloudless skies,
 As men for ever temperate, calm, and wise.
 If plagues or earthquakes break not Heaven's design, 155
 Why then a Borgia, or a Catiline?
 Who knows but He, whose hand the lightning forms,
 Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms;
 Pours fierce ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind? 160
 From pride, from pride, our very reasoning springs;
 Account for moral as for natural things:
 Why charge we Heaven in those, in these acquit?
 In both, to reason right is to submit.

Better for us, perhaps, it might appear, 165
 Were there all harmony, all virtue here;
 That never air or ocean felt the wind;
 That never passion discomposed the mind.
 But all subsists by elemental strife;
 And passions are the elements of life. 170
 The general Order, since the whole began,
 Is kept in Nature, and is kept in Man.

VI. What would this Man? Now upward will he soar,
 And little less than angel, would be more;
 Now looking downwards, just as grieved appears, 175
 To want the strength of bulls, the fur of bears.
 Made for his use, all creatures if he call,
 Say what their use, had he the powers of all?
 Nature to these, without profusion kind,
 The proper organs, proper powers assigned; 180
 Each seeming want compensated of course,
 Here with degrees of swiftness, there of force;
 All in exact proportion to the state;
 Nothing to add, and nothing to abate.
 Each beast, each insect, happy in its own: 185
 Is Heaven unkind to Man, and Man alone?
 Shall he alone, whom rational we call,
 Be pleased with nothing, if not blessed with all?

The bliss of Man (could pride that blessing find)
 Is not to act or think beyond mankind; 190
 No powers of body or of soul to share,
 But what his nature and his state can bear.
 Why has not Man a microscopic eye?
 For this plain reason, Man is not a fly.
 Say what the use, were finer optics given, 195
 To inspect a mite, not comprehend the heaven?
 Or touch, if tremblingly alive all o'er,
 To smart and agonize at every pore?
 Or quick effluvia darting through the brain,

Die of a rose in aromatic pain?

200

If Nature thundered in his opening ears,
And stunned him with the music of the spheres,
How would he wish that Heaven had left him still
The whispering zephyr, and the purling rill!
Who finds not Providence all good and wise,
Alike in what it gives, and what denies?

205

VII. Far as creation's ample range extends,
The scale of sensual, mental powers ascends :
Mark how it mounts to man's imperial race,
From the green myriads in the peopled grass :
What modes of sight betwixt each wide extreme,
The mole's dim curtain, and the lynx's beam :
Of smell, the headlong lioness between,
And hound sagacious on the tainted green :
Of hearing, from the life that fills the flood,
To that which warbles through the vernal wood !
The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine !
Feels at each thread, and lives along the line :
In the nice bee, what sense so subtly true
From poisonous herbs extracts the healing dew ?
How instinct varies in the grovelling swine,
Compared, half-reasoning elephant, with thine !
'Twixt that and reason, what a nice barrier !
For ever separate, yet for ever near !
Remembrance and reflection, how allied ;
What thin partitions sense from thought divide ;
And middle natures, how they long to join,
Yet never pass the insuperable line !
Without this just gradation could they be
Subjected, these to those, or all to thee ?
The powers of all subdued by thee alone,
Is not thy reason all these powers in one ?

210

215

220

225

230

VIII. See, through this air, this ocean, and this earth.
All matter quick, and bursting into birth.

Living

Above, how high, progressive life may go ! 235
 Around, how wide ! how deep extend below !
 Vast chain of Being ! which from God began,
 Natures ethereal, human, angel, Man,
 Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
 No glass can reach ; from infinite to thee, 240
 From thee to nothing. On superior powers
 Were we to press, inferior might on ours :
 Or in the full creation leave a void,
 Where, one step broken, the great scale 's destroyed :
 From Nature's chain whatever link you strike, 245
 Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike.

And, if each system in gradation roll
 Alike essential to the amazing whole,
 The least confusion but in one, not all
 That system only, but the whole must fall. 250
 Let earth, unbalanced, from her orbit fly,
 Planets and suns run lawless through the sky ;
 Let ruling angels from their spheres be hurled,
 Being on being wrecked, and world on world ;
 Heaven's whole foundations to their centre nod, 255
 And Nature tremble to the throne of God.
 All this dread Order break—for whom ? for thee ?
 Vile worm !—oh madness ! pride ! impiety !

IX. What if the foot, ordained the dust to tread,
 Or hand, to toil, aspired to be the head ? 260
 What if the head, the eye, or ear repined
 To serve mere engines to the ruling mind ?
 Just as absurd for any part to claim
 To be another, in this general frame ;
 Just as absurd, to mourn the tasks or pains 265
 The great directing Mind of All ordains.

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
 Whose body Nature is, and God the soul ;
 That, changed through all, and yet in all the same ;

Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame ; 270
 Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
 Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
 Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
 Spreads undivided, operates unspent ;
 Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part, 275
 As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart ;
 As full, as perfect, in vile Man that mourns,
 As the rapt seraph that adores and burns :
 To Him, no high, no low, no great, no small ;
 He fills, He bounds, connects and equals all. 280

X. Cease then, nor Order Imperfection name :
 Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.
 Know thy own point : this kind, this due degree
 Of blindness, weakness, Heaven bestows on thee.
 Submit : in this, or any other sphere, 285
 Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear :
 Safe in the hand of one disposing Power,
 Or in the natal, or the mortal hour.
 All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee ;
 All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see ; 290
 All Discord, Harmony not understood ;
 All partial Evil, universal Good :
 And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
 One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right.

EPISTLE II.

ARGUMENT OF EPISTLE II.

OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN WITH RESPECT TO HIMSELF, AS AN INDIVIDUAL.

I. The business of Man not to pry into God, but to study himself. His middle nature: his powers and frailties, ver. 1 to 19. The limits of his capacity, ver. 19, etc. II. The two principles of Man, self-love and reason, both necessary, ver. 53, etc. Self-love the stronger, and why, ver. 67, etc. Their end the same, ver. 81, etc. III. The Passions, and their use, ver. 93 to 130. The predominant passion, and its force, ver. 132 to 160. Its necessity, in directing men to different purposes, ver. 165, etc. Its providential use, in fixing our principle, and ascertaining our virtue, ver. 177. IV. Virtue and vice joined in our mixed nature; the limits near, yet the things separate and evident: what is the office of reason, ver. 202 to 216. V. How odious vice in itself, and how we deceive ourselves into it, ver. 217. VI. That, however, the ends of Providence and general good are answered in our passions and imperfections, ver. 231, etc. How usefully these are distributed to all orders of men, ver. 241. How useful they are to society, ver. 251. And to individuals, ver. 263. In every state, and every age of life, ver. 273, etc.

EPISTLE II.

I.

K NOW then thyself, presume not God to scan,
The proper study of mankind is Man.
Placed on this isthmus of a middle state,
A Being darkly wise, and rudely great:
With too much knowledge for the Sceptic side, 5
With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride,
He hangs between; in doubt to act, or rest;
In doubt to deem himself a god, or beast;
In doubt his mind or body to prefer;
Born but to die, and reasoning but to err; 10
Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
Whether he thinks too little, or too much:
Chaos of Thought and Passion, all confused;
Still by himself abused or disabused;
Created half to rise, and half to fall; 15
Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;
Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled:
The glory, jest, and riddle of the world!
Go, wondrous creature! mount where Science guides,
Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides; 20
Instruct the planets in what orbs to run,
Correct old Time, and regulate the sun;
Go, soar with Plato to the empyreal sphere,
To the first good, first perfect, and first fair;
Or tread the mazy round his followers trod, 25
And quitting sense call imitating God;
As Eastern priests in giddy circles run,

And turn their heads to imitate the sun.
Go, teach Eternal Wisdom how to rule—
Then drop into thyself, and be a fool!

30

Superior beings, when of late they saw
A mortal man unfold all Nature's law,
Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
And showed a Newton as we show an ape.

Could he, whose rules the rapid comet bind,
Describe or fix one movement of his mind?
Who saw its fires here rise, and there descend,
Explain his own beginning or his end?
Alas what wonder! Man's superior part
Unchecked may rise, and climb from art to art;
But when his own great work is but begun,
What reason weaves, by passion is undone.

35

Trace Science then, with modesty thy guide;
First strip off all her equipage of pride;
Deduct what is but vanity or dress,
Or learning's luxury, or idleness;
Or tricks to show the stretch of human brain,
Mere curious pleasure or ingenious pain;
Expunge the whole or lop the excrescent parts
Of all our vices have created arts;

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45

50

Then see how little the remaining sum,
Which served the past, and must the times to come!

II. Two principles in human nature reign;
Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain;
Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call,
Each works its end, to move or govern all:
And to their proper operation still,
Ascribe all good; to their improper, ill.

55

Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul;
Reason's comparing balance rules the whole.
Man, but for that, no action could attend,
And, but for this, were active to no end

60

Fixed like a plant on his peculiar spot,
To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot :
Or, meteor-like, flame lawless through the void, 65
Destroying others, by himself destroyed.

Most strength the moving principle requires ;
Active its task, it prompts, impels, inspires.
Sedate and quiet the comparing lies,
Formed but to check, deliberate, and advise. 70
Self-love still stronger, as its objects nigh ;
Reason's at distance, and in prospect lie :
That sees immediate good by present sense ;
Reason, the future and the consequence.
Thicker than arguments, temptations throng, 75
At best more watchful this, but that more strong.
The action of the stronger to suspend,
Reason still use, to reason still attend.
Attention, habit and experience gains ;
Each strengthens reason, and self-love restrains. 80

Let subtle schoolmen teach these friends to fight,
More studious to divide than to unite ;
And grace and virtue, sense and reason split,
With all the rash dexterity of wit.
Wits, just like fools, at war about a name, 85
Have full as oft no meaning, or the same.
Self-love and reason to one end aspire,
Pain their aversion, pleasure their desire ;
But greedy that, its object would devour,
This taste the honey, and not wound the flower : 90
Pleasure, or wrong or rightly understood,
Our greatest evil, or our greatest good.

III. Modes of self-love the Passions we may call :
'Tis real good, or seeming, moves them all :
But since not every good we can divide, 95
And reason bids us for our own provide,
Passions, though selfish, if their means be fair,

Juliet, Gower
 List under reason, and deserve her care :
 Those, that imparted, court a nobler aim,
 Exalt their kind, and take some virtue's name. 100

In lazy apathy let stoics boast
 Their virtue fixed ; 'tis fixed as in a frost ;
 Contracted all, retiring to the breast ;
 But strength of mind is exercise, not rest :
 The rising tempest puts in act the soul, 105
 Parts it may ravage, but preserves the whole.
 On life's vast ocean diversely we sail.
 Reason the card, but passion is the gale :
 Nor God alone in the still calm we find.
 He mounts the storm, and walks upon the wind. 110

Passions, like elements, though born to fight,
 Yet, mixed and softened, in his work unite :
 These 'tis enough to temper and employ ;
 But what composes man, can man destroy ?
 Suffice that reason keep to Nature's road, 115
 Subject, compound them, follow her and God.
 Love, hope, and joy, fair Pleasure's smiling train,
 Hate, fear, and grief, the family of Pain,
 These mixed with art, and to due bounds confined,
 Make and maintain the balance of the mind : 120
 The lights and shades, whose well-accorded strife
 Gives all the strength and colour of our life.

Pleasures are ever in our hands or eyes ;
 And when in act they cease, in prospect rise :
 Present to grasp, and future still to find, 125
 The whole employ of body and of mind.
 All spread their charms, but charm not all alike
 On different senses, different objects strike ;
 Hence different passions more or less inflame,
 As strong or weak the organs of the frame ; 130
 And hence one Master Passion in the breast,
 Like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest.

As man, perhaps, the moment of his breath,
 Receives the lurking principle of death ;
 The young disease, that must subdue at length, 135
 Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his strength ;
 So, cast and mingled with his very frame,
 The mind's disease, its Ruling Passion, came ;
 Each vital humour which should feed the whole, *flint of the road*
 Soon flows to this, in body and in soul : *center of the wind.* 140
 Whatever warms the heart, or fills the head,
 As the mind opens, and its functions spread,
 Imagination plies her dangerous art,
 And pours it all upon the peccant part. *discussed*

Nature its mother, habit is its nurse ; 145
 Wit, spirit, faculties, but make it worse ; *with a spirit*
 Reason itself but gives it edge and power ;
 As Heaven's blest beam turns vinegar more sour.

We, wretched subjects, though to lawful sway,
 In this weak queen some favourite still obey : 150
 Ah ! if she lend not arms, as well as rules,
 What can she more than tell us we are fools ?
 Teach us to mourn our nature, not to mend,
 A sharp accuser, but a helpless friend !
 Or from a judge turn pleader, to persuade 155
 The choice we make, or justify it made ;
 Proud of an easy conquest all along, *and not a little*
 She but removes weak passions for the strong :
 So, when small humours gather to a gout,
 The doctor fancies he has driven them out. 160

Yes, Nature's road must ever be preferred ;
 Reason is here no guide, but still a guard ;
 'Tis hers to rectify, not overthrow,
 And treat this passion more as friend than foe ;
 A mightier power the strong direction sends, 165
 And several men impels to several ends : *different*
 Like varying winds, by other passions tossed,

This drives them constant to a certain coast.
 Let power or knowledge, gold or glory, please,
 Or (oft more strong than all) the love of ease ; 170
 Through life 'tis followed, even at life's expense ;
 The merchant's toil, the sage's indolence,
 The monk's humility, the hero's pride,
 All, all alike, find reason on their side.

Nature The Eternal Art, educing good from ill, 175
 Grafts on this passion our best principle:
 Tis thus the mercury of Man is fixed,
 Strong grows the virtue with his nature mixed:
 The dross cements what else were too refined,
 And in one interest body acts with mind. 180

As fruits, ungrateful to the planter's care,
 On savage stocks inserted learn to bear ;
 The surest virtues thus from passions shoot,
 Wild Nature's vigour working at the root.
 What crops of wit and honesty appear 185
 From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear !
 See anger, zeal and fortitude supply ;
 Ev'n avarice, prudence ; sloth, philosophy ;
 Lust, through some certain strainers well refined,
 Is gentle love, and charms all womankind ; 190
 Envy, to which the ignoble mind's a slave,
 Is emulation in the learned or brave ;
 Nor virtue, male or female, can we name,
 But what will grow on pride, or grow on shame.

Thus Nature gives us (let it check our pride) 195
 The virtue nearest to our vice allied :
 Reason the bias turns to good from ill,
 And Nero reigns a Titus, if he will. *not a Titus*
 The fiery soul abhorred in Catiline,
 In Decius charms, in Curtius is divine : *reposed into quies* 200
 The same ambition can destroy or save,
 And makes a patriot as it makes a knave.

IV. This light and darkness in our chaos joined,
What shall divide? The God within the mind.

Extremes in Nature equal ends produce, 205
In man they join to some mysterious use;
Though each by turns the other's bounds invade,
As, in some well-wrought picture, light and shade,
And oft so mix, the difference is too nice
Where ends the virtue, or begins the vice. 210

Fools! who from hence into the notion fall,
That vice or virtue there is none at all.
If white and black blend, soften, and unite
A thousand ways, is there no black or white?
Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain; 215
'Tis to mistake them costs the time and pain.

V. Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace. 220
But where the extreme of vice, was ne'er agreed:
Ask where's the North? at York, 'tis on the Tweed;
In Scotland, at the Orcades: and there,
At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where. 225
No creature owns it in the first degree,
But thinks his neighbour further gone than he:
Ev'n those who dwell beneath its very zone,
Or never feel the rage, or never own;
What happier natures shrink at with affright,
The hard inhabitant contends is right. 230

VI. Virtuous and vicious every man must be,
Few in the extreme, but all in the degree;
The rogue and fool by fits is fair and wise;
And ev'n the best, by fits, what they despise.
'Tis but by parts we follow good or ill; 235
For, vice or virtue, self directs it still;
Each individual seeks a several goal;

But Heaven's great view is one, and that the whole.
 That counterworks each folly and caprice;
 That disappoints the effect of every vice;
 That, happy frailties to all ranks applied,
 Shame to the virgin, to the matron pride,
 Fear to the statesman, rashness to the chief,
 To kings presumption, and to crowds belief:
 That, virtue's ends from vanity can raise,
 Which seeks no interest, no reward but praise;
 And build on wants, and on defects of mind
 The joy, the peace, the glory of mankind.

240

245

Heaven forming each on other to depend,
 A master, or a servant, or a friend,
 Bids each on other for assistance call,
 Till one man's weakness grows the strength of all.
 Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
 The common interest, or endear the tie.
 To these we owe true friendship, love sincere,
 Each home-felt joy that life inherits here;
 Yet from the same we learn, in its decline,
 Those joys, those loves, those interests to resign;
 Taught half by reason, half by mere decay,
 To welcome death, and calmly pass away.

255

260

Whate'er the passion, knowledge, fame, or self,
 Not one will change his neighbour with himself.
 The learned is happy nature to explore.
 The fool is happy that he knows no more;
 The rich is happy in the plenty given,
 The poor contents him with the care of Heaven.
 See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,
 The sot a hero, lunatic a king;
 The starving chemist in his golden views
 Supremely blessed, the poet in his Muse.

265

270

See some strange comfort every state attend,
 And pride bestowed on all, a common friend:

See some fit passion every age supply,
Hope travels through, nor quits us when we die.

Behold the child, by Nature's kindly law, 275

Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw :

Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,

A little louder, but as empty quite :

Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage, 280

And beads and prayer-books are the toys of age :

Pleased with this bauble still, as that before ;

Till tired he sleeps, and life's poor play is o'er.

Meanwhile Opinion gilds with varying rays

Those painted clouds that beautify our days ;

Each want of happiness by hope supplied, 285

And each vacuity of sense by pride :

These build as fast as knowledge can destroy ;

In folly's cup still laughs the bubble, joy ;

One prospect lost, another still we gain ;

And not a vanity is given in vain ; 290

Ev'n mean self-love becomes, by force divine,

The scale to measure others' wants by thine.

See ! and confess, one comfort still must rise ;

'Tis this, Though Man's a fool, yet God is wise.

EPISTLE III.

ARGUMENT OF EPISTLE III.

OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN WITH RESPECT TO SOCIETY.

I. The whole universe one system of society, ver. 7, etc. Nothing made wholly for itself, nor yet wholly for another, ver. 27. The happiness of animals mutual, ver. 49. II. Reason or instinct operate alike to the good of each individual, ver. 79. III. Reason or instinct operate also to society in all animals, ver. 109. How far society carried by instinct, ver. 115. How much farther by reason, ver. 131. IV. Of that which is called the state of nature, ver. 147. Reason instructed by instinct in the invention of arts, ver. 169, and in the forms of society, ver. 179. V. Origin of political societies, ver. 199. Origin of monarchy, ver. 209. VI. Patriarchal government, ver. 215. Origin of true religion and government from the same principle of love, ver. 231, etc. Origin of superstition and tyranny, from the same principle of fear, ver. 241, etc. The influence of self-love operating to the social and public good, ver. 269. Restoration of true religion and government on their first principle, ver. 283. Mixed government, ver. 289. Various forms of each, and the true end of all, ver. 303, etc.

EPISTLE III.

God.

Learn, discuss, labor
HERE then we rest: "The Universal Cause
 Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."

In all the madness of superfluous health,
 The trim of pride, the impudence of wealth,
 Let this great truth be present night and day;
 But most be present, if we preach or pray.

5

I. Look round our world; behold the chain of love
 Combining all below and all above.

See plastic Nature working to this end,

The single atoms each to other tend,

10

Attract, attracted to, the next in place

Formed and impelled its neighbour to embrace.

See Matter next, with various life endued,

Press to one centre still, the general good.

See dying vegetables life sustain,

15

See life dissolving vegetate again:

All forms that perish other forms supply,

(By turns we catch the vital breath, and die)

Like bubbles on the sea of Matter borne,

They rise, they break, and to that sea return.

20

Nothing is foreign: parts relate to whole;

One all-extending, all-preserving Soul

Connects each being, greatest with the least;

Made beast in aid of man, and man of beast;

All served, all serving: nothing stands alone:

25

The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown.

Has God, thou fool! worked solely for thy good,
 Thy joy, thy pastime, thy attire, thy food?

Who for thy table feeds the wanton fawn,
 For him as kindly spread the flowery lawn
 Is it for thee the lark ascends and sings?
 Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings.
 Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat?
 Loves of his own and raptures swell the note.
 The bounding steed you pompously bestride,
 Shares with his lord the pleasure and the pride.
 Is thine alone the seed that strews the plain?
 The birds of heaven shall vindicate their grain.
 Thine the full harvest of the golden year?
 Part pays, and justly, the deserving steer:
 The hog, that ploughs not, nor obeys thy call,
 Lives on the labours of this lord of all.

Know, Nature's children shall divide her care;
 The fur that warms a monarch, warmed a bear.
 While man exclaims, "See all things for my use!"
 "See man for mine!" replies a pampered goose:
 And just as short of reason he must fall,
 Who thinks all made for one, not one for all.

Grant that the powerful still the weak control;
 Be Man the wit and tyrant of the whole:
 Nature that tyrant checks; he only knows,
 And helps, another creature's wants and woes.
 Say, will the falcon, stooping from above,
 Smit with her varying plumage, spare the dove?
 Admires the jay the insect's gilded wings?
 Or hears the hawk when Philomela sings?
 Man cares for all: to birds he gives his woods,
 To beasts his pastures, and to fish his floods;
 For some his interest prompts him to provide,
 For more his pleasure, yet for more his pride:
 All feed on one vain patron, and enjoy
 The extensive blessing of his luxury.
 That very life his learned hunger craves,

He saves from famine, from the savage saves :
 Nay, feasts the animal he dooms his feast, 65
 And, till he ends the being, makes it blest ;
 Which sees no more the stroke, or feels the pain,
 Than favoured Man by touch ethereal slain.
 The creature had his feast of life before ;
 Thou too must perish, when thy feast is o'er ! 70

To each unthinking being, Heaven, a friend,
 Gives not the useless knowledge of its end :
 To man imparts it ; but with such a view
 As, while he dreads it, makes him hope it too :
 The hour concealed, and so remote the fear, 75
 Death still draws nearer, never seeming near.
 Great standing miracle ! that Heaven assigned
 Its only thinking thing this turn of mind.

II. / Whether with Reason or with Instinct blessed.

Know, all enjoy that power which suits them best ; 80
 To bliss alike by that direction tend,
 And find the means proportioned to their end.
 Say, where full instinct is the unerring guide,
 What Pope or Council can they need beside ?
 Reason, however able, cool at best, 85
 Cares not for service, or but serves when prest,
 Stays till we call, and then not often near ;
 But honest instinct comes a volunteer,
 Sure never to o'ershoot, but just to hit ;
 While still too wide or short is human wit ; 90
 Sure by quick nature happiness to gain,
 Which heavier reason labours at in vain.
 This too serves always, reason never long ;
 One must go right, the other may go wrong.
 See then the acting and comparing powers 95
 One in their nature, which are two in ours
 And reason raise o'er instinct as you can,
 In this 'tis God directs, in that 'tis Man.

animal

Who taught the nations of the field and flood
To shun their poison, and to choose their food?

100

Prescient, the tides or tempests to withstand,
Build on the wave, or arch beneath the sand?

Who made the spider parallels design,
Sure as Demoivre, without rule or line?

Who bid the stork, Columbus-like, explore

105

Heavens not his own, and worlds unknown before?

{ Who calls the council, states the certain day,

{ Who forms the phalanx, and who points the way?

III. God, in the nature of each being, founds

Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds:

110

But as he framed a whole, the whole to bless,

On mutual wants built mutual happiness:

So from the first, eternal Order ran,

And creature linked to creature, man to man.

Whate'er of life all-quickenning ether keeps,

115

Or breathes through air, or shoots beneath the deeps,

Or pours profuse on earth, one nature feeds

The vital flame, and swells the genial seeds.

Not Man alone, but all that roam the wood,

Or wing the sky, or roll along the flood,

120

Each loves itself, but not itself alone,

Each sex desires alike, till two are one.

Nor ends the pleasure with the fierce embrace;

They love themselves, a third time, in their race.

Thus beast and bird their common charge attend,

125

The mothers nurse it, and the sires defend;

The young dismissed to wander earth or air,

There stops the instinct, and there ends the care

The link dissolves, each seeks a fresh embrace,

Another love succeeds, another race.

130

A longer care Man's helpless kind demands;

That longer care contracts more lasting bands:

Reflection, reason, still the ties improve,

each.

At once extend the interest, and the love :
 With choice we fix, with sympathy we burn ; 135
 Each virtue in each passion takes its turn ;
 And still new needs, new helps, new habits rise,
 That graft benevolence on charities. *instinctive acts of affection*
 Still as one brood, and as another rose,
 These natural love maintained, habitual those : 140
 The last, scarce ripened into perfect Man,
 Saw helpless him from whom their life began :
 Memory and forecast just returns engage,
 That pointed back to youth, this on to age ;
 While pleasure, gratitude, and hope combined, 145
 Still spread the interest and preserved the kind.
 IV. Nor think in Nature's State they blindly trod ;
 The state of Nature was the reign of God :
 Self-love and social at her birth began,
 Union the bond of all things, and of Man. 150
 Pride then was not ; nor arts, that pride to aid ;
 Man walked with beast, joint tenant of the shade ;
 The same his table, and the same his bed ;
 No murder clothed him, and no murder fed.
 In the same temple, the resounding wood, 155
 All vocal beings hymned their equal God :
 The shrine with gore unstained, with gold undressed,
 Unbribed, unbloody, stood the blameless priest :
 Heaven's attribute was universal care,
 And Man's prerogative, to rule, but spare. *opposed right* 160
 Ah ! how unlike the Man of times to come !
 Of half that live the butcher and the tomb ; *and the animals*
 Who, foe to Nature, hears the general groan,
 Murders their species, and betrays his own.
 But just disease to luxury succeeds, 165
 And every death its own avenger breeds ;
 The fury-passions from that blood began,
 And turned on man a fiercer savage, *Man,*
wild-beast

See him from Nature rising slow to Art !
 To copy instinct then was reason's part ; 170
 Thus then to Man the voice of Nature spake :
 " Go, from the creatures thy instructions take :
 Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield ;
 Learn from the beasts the physic of the field ;
 Thy arts of building from the bee receive ; 175
 Learn of the mole to plough, the worm to weave ;
 Learn of the little nautilus to sail,
 Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.
 Here too all forms of social union find,
 And hence let reason, late, instruct mankind : 180
 Here subterranean works and cities see ;
 There towns aërial on the waving tree.
 Learn each small people's genius, policies,
 The ants' republic, and the realm of bees ;
 How those in common all their wealth bestow, 185
 And anarchy without confusion know ;
 And these for ever, though a monarch reign,
 Their separate cells and properties maintain.
 Mark what unvaried laws preserve each state,
 Laws wise as Nature, and as fixed as Fate. 190
 In vain thy reason finer webs shall draw,
 Entangle justice in her net of law,
 And right, too rigid, harden into wrong ;
 Still for the strong too weak, the weak too strong.
 Yet go ! and thus o'er all the creatures sway, 195
 Thus let the wiser make the rest obey :
 And for those arts mere instinct could afford,
 Be crowned as Monarchs, or as Gods adored."
 V. Great Nature spoke ; observant Man obeyed ;
 Cities were built, societies were made : 200
 Here rose one little state ; another near
 Grew by like means, and joined through love or fear.
 Did here the trees with ruddier burdens bend,

And there the streams in purer rills descend?
 What war could ravish, commerce could bestow,
 And he returned a friend, who came a foe.
 Converse and love mankind might strongly draw,
 When love was liberty, and Nature law.
 Thus states were formed; the name of King unknown,
 Till common interest placed the sway in one. 210

'Twas Virtue only (or in arts or arms,
 Diffusing blessings, or averting harms),
 The same, which in a sire the sons obeyed,
 A prince the father of a people made.

VI. Till then, by Nature crowned, each patriarch sate,
 King, priest, and parent of his growing state; 216
 On him, their second Providence, they hung,
 Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.

He from the wondering furrow called the food,
 Taught to command the fire, control the flood, 220
 Draw forth the monsters of the abyss profound,
 Or fetch the ærial eagle to the ground.

Till drooping, sickening, dying they began
 Whom they revered as God to mourn as man;
 Then, looking up from sire to sire, explored 225
 One great first Father, and that first adored,

Or plain tradition, that this All begun,
 Conveyed unbroken faith from sire to son;
 The worker from the work distinct was known, 230
 And simple reason never sought but one.

Ere wit oblique had broke that steady light,
 Man, like his Maker, saw that all was right;
 To virtue, in the paths of pleasure trod,
 And owned a father when he owned a God.

Love, all the faith and all the allegiance then; 235
 For Nature knew no right divine in men,
 No ill could fear in God; and understood
 A sovereign being, but a sovereign good:

True faith, true policy, united ran,
That was but love of God, and this of Man.

Who first taught souls enslaved, and realms undone,
The enormous faith of many made for one;
That proud exception to all Nature's laws,
To invert the world, and counter-work its cause?
Force first made conquest, and that conquest law;
Till Superstition taught the tyrant awe,
Then shared the tyranny, then lent it aid,
And gods of conquerors, slaves of subjects made:
She, midst the lightning's blaze, and thunder's sound,
When rocked the mountains, and when groaned the
ground,

She taught the weak to bend, the proud to pray,
To power unseen, and mightier far than they:
She, from the rending earth, and bursting skies,
Saw gods descend, and fiends infernal rise:
Here fixed the dreadful, there the blest abodes:
Fear made her devils, and weak hope her gods;
Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust;
Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
And, formed like tyrants, tyrants would believe.
Zeal then, not charity, became the guide;
And hell was built on spite, and heaven on pride,
Then sacred seemed the ethereal vault no more:
Altars grew marble then, and reeked with gore:
Then first the Flamen tasted living food;
Next his grim idol smeared with human blood;
With Heaven's own thunders shook the world below,
And played the god an engine on his foe.

So drives self-love, through just and through unjust,
To one man's power, ambition, lucre, lust:
The same self-love, in all, becomes the cause
Of what restrains him, government and laws.

For, what one likes, if others like as well,
What serves one will, when many wills rebel?

How shall he keep, what, sleeping or awake, 275

A weaker may surprise, a stronger take?

His safety must his liberty restrain:

All join to guard what each desires to gain.

Forced into virtue thus, by self-defence,

Ev'n kings learned justice and benevolence: 280

Self-love forsook the path it first pursued,

And found the private in the public good.

'Twas then the studious head or generous mind,

Follower of God, or friend of human-kind,

Poet or patriot, rose but to restore

285

The faith and moral Nature gave before;

Relumed her ancient light, not kindled new;

If not God's image, yet his shadow drew;

Taught power's due use to people and to kings,

Taught nor to slack, nor strain its tender strings, 290

The less, or greater, set so justly true,

That touching one must strike the other too:

Till jarring interests of themselves create

The according music of a well-mixed state.

Such is the world's great harmony, that springs 295

From order, union, full consent of things:

Where small and great, where weak and mighty, made

To serve, not suffer, strengthen, not invade;

More powerful each as needful to the rest,

And, in proportion as it blesses, blest; 300

Draw to one point, and to one centre bring

Beast, man, or angel, servant, lord, or king.

For forms of government let fools contest:

Whate'er is best administered is best:

For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight; 305

His can't be wrong whose life is in the right;

In faith and hope the world will disagree,

But all mankind's concern is charity :
All must be false that thwart this one great end :
And all of God, that bless mankind, or mend.

310

Man, like the generous vine, supported lives :
The strength he gains is from the embrace he gives.
On their own axis as the planets run,
Yet make at once their circle round the sun ;
So two consistent motions act the soul ;
And one regards itself, and one the whole.

315

Thus God and Nature linked the general frame,
And bade self-love and social be the same.

EPISTLE IV.

ARGUMENT OF EPISTLE IV.

OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN WITH RESPECT TO HAPPINESS.

I. False notions of happiness, philosophical and popular, answered from ver. 19 to 26. II. It is the end of all men, and attainable by all, ver. 29. God intends happiness to be equal; and, to be so, it must be social, since all particular happiness depends on general, and since he governs by general, not particular laws, ver. 35. As it is necessary for order, and the peace and welfare of society, that external goods should be unequal, happiness is not made to consist in these, ver. 49. But notwithstanding that inequality, the balance of happiness among mankind is kept even by Providence, by the two passions of hope and fear, ver. 67. III. What the happiness of individuals is, as far as is consistent with the constitution of this world; and that the good man has here the advantage, ver. 77. The error of imputing to Virtue what are only the calamities of Nature, or of fortune, ver. 93. IV. The folly of expecting that God should alter his general laws in favour of particulars, ver. 121. V. That we are not judges who are good; but that whoever they are, they must be happiest, ver. 131, etc. VI. That external goods are not the proper rewards, but often inconsistent with, or destructive of virtue, ver. 167. That even these can make no man happy without virtue: instanced in riches, ver. 185. Honours, ver. 193. Nobility, ver. 205. Greatness, ver. 217. Fame, ver. 237. Superior talents, ver. 259, etc. With pictures of human infelicity in men possessed of them all, ver. 269, etc. VII. That virtue only constitutes a happiness whose object is universal, and whose prospect eternal, ver. 309. That the perfection of virtue and happiness consists in a conformity to the order of Providence here, and a resignation to it here and hereafter, ver. 327, etc.

EPISTLE IV.

O H Happiness ! our being's end and aim !
Good, Pleasure, Ease, Content ! whate'er thy name :

That something still which prompts the eternal sigh,
For which we bear to live, or dare to die ;

Which still so near us, yet beyond us lies, 5
O'erlooked, seen double, by the fool and wise.

Plant of celestial seed ! if dropped below,
Say, in what mortal soil thou deign'st to grow ?

Fair opening to some Court's propitious shine,
Or deep with diamonds in the flaming mine ? 10

Twined with the wreaths Parnassian laurels yield,
Or reaped in iron harvests of the field ?

Where grows ?—where grows it not ? If vain our toil,
We ought to blame the culture, not the soil :

Fixed to no spot is happiness sincere, 15
'Tis no where to be found, or every where :

'Tis never to be bought, but always free ;

And, fled from monarchs, St. John ! dwells with thee.

I. Ask of the learn'd the way ? the learn'd are blind ;

This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind ; 20

Some place the bliss in action, some in ease,

Those call it pleasure, and contentment these ;

Some sunk to beasts, find pleasure end in pain ;

Some swelled to gods, confess e'en virtue vain ;

Or indolent, to each extreme they fall, 25

To trust in every thing, or doubt of all.

Who thus define it, say they more or less

Than this, that happiness is happiness ?

II. Take Nature's path, and mad Opinion's leave;
 All states can reach it, and all heads conceive; 30
 Obvious her goods, in no extreme they dwell;
 There needs but thinking right, and meaning well;
 And, mourn our various portions as we please,
 Equal is common sense, and common ease.

Remember, Man, "the Universal Cause 35
 Acts not by partial, but by general laws;"
 And makes what happiness we justly call
 Subsist, not in the good of one, but all.
 There's not a blessing individuals find,
 But some way leans and hearkens to the kind: 40
 No bandit fierce, no tyrant mad with pride,
 No caverned hermit, rests self-satisfied:
 Who most to shun or hate mankind pretend,
 Seek an admirer, or would fix a friend:
 Abstract what others feel, what others think, 45
 All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink:
 Each has his share; and who would more obtain,
 Shall find, the pleasure pays not half the pain.

Order is Heaven's first law; and this confessed,
 Some are, and must be, greater than the rest. 50
 More rich, more wise; but who infers from hence
 That such are happier, shocks all common sense.
 Heaven to mankind impartial we confess,
 If all are equal in their happiness:
 But mutual wants this happiness increase; 55
 All Nature's difference keeps all Nature's peace.
 Condition, circumstance, is not the thing;
 Bliss is the same in subject or in king,
 In who obtain defence, or who defend,
 In him who is, or him who finds a friend: 60
 Heaven breathes through every member of the whole
 One common blessing, as one common soul.
 But fortune's gifts, if each alike possessed,

And each were equal, must not all contest ?
 If then to all men happiness was meant, 65
 God in externals could not place content.

Fortune her gifts may variously dispose,
 And these be happy called, unhappy those ;
 But Heaven's just balance equal will appear,
 While those are placed in hope, and these in fear : 70
 Not present good or ill, the joy or curse,
 But future views of better, or of worse.

Oh sons of earth ! attempt ye still to rise,
 By mountains piled on mountains, to the skies ?
 Heaven still with laughter the vain toil surveys, 75
 And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

III. Know, all the good that individuals find,
 Or God and Nature meant to mere mankind,
 Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
 Lie in three words, health, peace, and competence. 80

But health consists with temperance alone ;
 And peace, O Virtue ! peace is all thy own.
 The good or bad the gifts of fortune gain ;
 But these less taste them, as they worse obtain.

Say, in pursuit of profit or delight, 85
 Who risk the most, that take wrong means, or right ?
 Of vice or virtue, whether blest or curst,
 Which meets contempt, or which compassion first ?

Count all the advantage prosperous vice attains,
 'Tis but what virtue flies from and disdains : 90
 And grant the bad what happiness they would,
 One they must want, which is, to pass for good.

Oh blind to truth, and God's whole scheme below,
 Who fancy bliss to vice, to virtue woe !
 Who sees and follows that great scheme the best, 95
 Best knows the blessing, and will most be blest.
 But fools the good alone unhappy call,
 For ills or accidents that chance to all.

See Falkland dies, the virtuous and the just !
 See god-like Turenne prostrate on the dust ! 100
 See Sidney bleeds amid the martial strife !
 Was this their virtue, or contempt of life ?
 Say, was it virtue, more though Heaven ne'er gave,
 Lamented Digby ! sunk thee to the grave ?
 Tell me, if virtue made the son expire, 105
 Why, full of days and honour, lives the sire ?
 Why drew Marseilles' good bishop purer breath,
 When nature sickened, and each gale was death ?
 Or why so long (in life if long can be)
 Lent Heaven a parent to the poor and me ? 110
 What makes all physical or moral ill ?
 There deviates Nature, and here wanders Will.
 God sends not ill ; if rightly understood,
 Or partial ill is universal good,
 Or change admits, or Nature lets it fall, 115
 Short, and but rare, till man improved it all.
 We just as wisely might of Heaven complain
 That righteous Abel was destroyed by Cain,
 As that the virtuous son is ill at ease
 When his lewd father gave the dire disease. 120
 IV. Think we, like some weak prince, the Eternal Cause
 Prone for his favourites to reverse his laws ?
 Shall burning Ætna, if a sage requires,
 Forget to thunder, and recall her fires ?
 On air or sea new motions be impressed, 125
 Oh blameless Bethel ! to relieve thy breast ?
 When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
 Shall gravitation cease, if you go by ?
 Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,
 For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall ? 130
 V. But still this world (so fitted for the knave)
 Contents us not. A better shall we have ?
 A kingdom of the just then let it be :

But first consider how those just agree.
 The good must merit God's peculiar care ; 135
 But who, but God, can tell us who they are ?
 One thinks on Calvin Heaven's own spirit fell ;
 Another deems him instrument of Hell ;
 If Calvin feel Heaven's blessing, or its rod,
 This cries, There is, and that, There is no God. 140
 What shocks one part will edify the rest,
 Nor with one system can they all be blest.
 The very best will variously incline,
 And what rewards your virtue, punish mine.
 Whatever is, is right.—This world, 'tis true, 145
 Was made for Cæsar—but for Titus too ;
 And which more blest ? who chained his country, say,
 Or he whose virtue sighed to lose a day ?
 “But sometimes virtue starves, while vice is fed.”
 What then ? is the reward of virtue bread ? 150
 That vice may merit, 'tis the price of toil ;
 The knave deserves it when he tills the soil,
 The knave deserves it when he tempts the main,
 Where folly fights for kings, or dives for gain.
 The good man may be weak, be indolent ; 155
 Nor is his claim to plenty, but content.
 But grant him riches, your demand is o'er ?
 “No—shall the good want health, the good want power ?”
 Add health and power, and every earthly thing :
 “Why bounded power ? why private ? why no king ? 160
 Nay, why external for internal given ?
 Why is not Man a god, and earth a heaven ?”
 Who ask and reason thus, will scarce conceive
 God gives enough, while he has more to give ;
 Immense the power, immense were the demand ; 165
 Say, at what part of Nature will they stand ?

VI. What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
 The soul's calm sunshine, and the heartfelt joy,

Is virtue's prize. A better would you fix?
 Then give humility a coach and six, 170
 Justice a conqueror's sword, or truth a gown,
 Or public spirit its great cure, a crown.
 Weak, foolish man! will Heaven reward us there
 With the same trash mad mortals wish for here?
 The Boy and Man an individual makes, 175
 Yet sigh'st thou now for apples and for cakes?
 Go, like the Indian, in another life
 Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife;
 As well as dream such trifles are assigned,
 As toys and empires, for a god-like mind. 180
 Rewards, that either would to virtue bring
 No joy, or be destructive of the thing:
 How oft by these at sixty are undone
 The virtues of a saint at twenty-one!
 To whom can Riches give repute, or trust, 185
 Content, or pleasure, but the good and just?
 Judges and senates have been bought for gold.
 Esteem and love were never to be sold.
 O fool! to think God hates the worthy mind,
 The lover and the loved of human-kind, 190
 Whose life is healthful and whose conscience clear,
 Because he wants a thousand pounds a year.
 Honour and shame from no condition rise:
 Act well your part, there all the honour lies.
 Fortune in men has some small difference made, 195
 One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade;
 The cobbler aproned, and the parson gowned,
 The friar hooded, and the monarch crowned.
 "What differ more (you cry) than crown and cowl?"
 I'll tell you, friend! a wise man and a fool. 200
 You'll find, if once the monarch acts the monk,
 Or, cobbler-like, the parson will be drunk,
 Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow:

The rest is all but leather or prunella.

Stuck o'er with titles and hung round with strings, 205

That thou mayst be by kings or whores of kings.

Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race,

In quiet flow from Lucrece to Lucrece :

But by your fathers' worth if yours you rate,

Count me those only who were good and great. 210

Go ! if your ancient, but ignoble blood

Has crept through scoundrels ever since the flood,

Go ! and pretend your family is young ;

Nor own your fathers have been fools so long.

What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards ? 215

Alas ! not all the blood of all the Howards.

Look next on Greatness ; say where Greatness lies.

" Where, but among the heroes and the wise ? "

Heroes are much the same, the point 's agreed,

From Macedonia's madman to the Swede ; 220

The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find,

Or make an enemy of all mankind !

Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,

Yet ne'er looks forward further than his nose.

No less alike the politic and wise ; 225

All sly slow things, with circumspective eyes :

Men in their loose unguarded hours they take,

Not that themselves are wise, but others weak.

But grant that those can conquer, these can cheat ;

'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great : 230

Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,

Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.

Who noble ends by noble means obtains,

Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,

Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed 235

Like Socrates, that man is great indeed.

What's Fame ? A fancied life in others' breath,

A thing beyond us, even before our death

Just what you hear, you have, and what's unknown
 The same (my Lord) if Tully's, or your own. 240
 All that we feel of it begins and ends
 In the small circle of our foes or friends ;
 To all beside as much an empty shade
 An Eugene living, as a Cæsar dead ;
 Alike or when, or where, they shone, or shine, 245
 Or on the Rubicon, or on the Rhine.
 A wit's a feather, and a chief a rod ;
 An honest man's the noblest work of God.
 Fame but from death a villain's name can save,
 As Justice tears his body from the grave ; 250
 When what to oblivion better were resigned,
 Is hung on high, to poison half mankind.
 All fame is foreign, but of true desert ;
 Plays round the head, but comes not to the heart :
 One self-approving hour whole years outweighs 255
 Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas ;
 And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels,
 Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.
 In parts superior what advantage lies ?
 Tell (for you can) what is it to be wise ? 260
 'Tis but to know how little can be known ;
 To see all others' faults, and feel our own :
 Condemned in business or in arts to drudge,
 Without a second, or without a judge :
 Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land ? 265
 All fear, none aid you, and few understand.
 Painful pre-eminence ! yourself to view
 Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.
 Bring then these blessings to a strict account ;
 Make fair deductions ; see to what they mount " 270
 How much of other each is sure to cost ;
 How each for other oft is wholly lost ;
 How inconsistent greater goods with these ;

How sometimes life is risked, and always ease :
 Think, and if still the things thy envy call, 275
 Say, wouldst thou be the man to whom they fall ?
 To sigh for ribands if thou art so silly,
 Mark how they grace Lord Umbra, or Sir Billy.
 Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life ;
 Look but on Gripus, or on Gripus' wife. 280
 If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined,
 The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind :
 Or ravished with the whistling of a name,
 See Cromwell, damned to everlasting fame !
 If all, united, thy ambition call, 285
 From ancient story learn to scorn them all.
 There, in the rich, the honoured, famed, and great,
 See the false scale of happiness complete !
 In hearts of kings, or arms of queens, who lay,
 How happy ! those to ruin these betray. 290
 Mark by what wretched steps their glory grows,
 From dirt and sea-weed as proud Venice rose ;
 In each how guilt and greatness equal ran,
 And all that raised the hero, sunk the man :
 Now Europe's laurels on their brows behold, 295
 But stained with blood, or ill exchanged for gold :
 Then see them broke with toils, or sunk in ease,
 Or infamous for plundered provinces.
 Oh wealth ill-fated ! which no act of fame
 E'er taught to shine, or sanctified from shame ! 300
 What greater bliss attends their close of life ?
 Some greedy minion, or imperious wife,
 The trophied arches, storied halls invade,
 And haunt their slumbers in the pompous shade.
 Alas ! not dazzled with their noon-tide ray, 305
 Compute the morn and evening to the day :
 The whole amount of that enormous fame,
 A tale, that blends their glory with their shame !

VII. Know then this truth (enough for Man to know)
 "Virtue alone is happiness below." 310
 The only point where human bliss stands still,
 And tastes the good without the fall to ill ;
 Where only merit constant pay receives,
 Is blessed in what it takes, and what it gives ;
 The joy unequalled, if its end it gain, 315
 And if it lose, attended with no pain :
 Without satiety, though e'er so blessed,
 And but more relished as the more distressed :
 The broadest mirth unfeeling folly wears,
 Less pleasing far than virtue's very tears : 320
 Good, from each object, from each place acquired,
 For ever exercised, yet never tired ;
 Never elated, while one man's oppressed ;
 Never dejected, while another's blessed ;
 And where no wants, no wishes can remain, 325
 Since but to wish more virtue, is to gain.

See the sole bliss Heaven could on all bestow !
 Which who but feels can taste, but thinks can know :
 Yet poor with fortune, and with learning blind,
 The bad must miss, the good, untaught, will find ; 330
 Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
 But looks through Nature, up to Nature's God :
 Pursues that chain which links the immense design,
 Joins heaven and earth, and mortal and divine ;
 Sees, that no being any bliss can know, 335
 But touches some above, and some below ;
 Learns, from this union of the rising whole,
 The first, last purpose of the human soul ;
 And knows where faith, law, morals, all began,
 All end, in Love of God, and Love of Man. 340

For him alone, hope leads from goal to goal,
 And opens still, and opens on his soul ;
 Till lengthened on to faith, and unconfined,

It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind.
He sees why Nature plants in Man alone
Hope of known bliss, and faith in bliss unknown : 345

(Nature, whose dictates to no other kind
Are given in vain, but what they seek they find;)
Wise is her present ; she connects in this
His greatest virtue with his greatest bliss ; 350
At once his own bright prospect to be blessed,
And strongest motive to assist the rest.

Self-love thus pushed to social, to divine,
Gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine.
Is this too little for the boundless heart ? 355

Extend it, let thy enemies have part :
Grasp the whole worlds of reason, life, and sense,
In one close system of benevolence :
Happier as kinder, in whate'er degree,
And height of bliss but height of charity. 360

God loves from whole to parts : but human soul
Must rise from individual to the whole.

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake ;
The centre moved, a circle strait succeeds, 365

Another still, and still another spreads ;
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace ;
His country next ; and next all human race ;

Wide and more wide, the o'erflowings of the mind
Take every creature in, of every kind ; 370
Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blessed,
And heaven beholds its image in his breast.

Come, then, my friend ! my genius ! come along ;
Oh master of the poet, and the song !
And while the Muse now stoops, or now ascends, 375

To Man's low passions, or their glorious ends,
Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
To fall with dignity, with temper rise ;

Formed by thy converse, happily to steer
From grave to gay, from lively to severe ; 380
Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
Intent to reason, or polite to please.
Oh ! while along the stream of time thy name
Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame ;
Say, shall my little bark attendant sail, 385
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale ?
When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,
Shall then this verse to future age pretend
Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend ? 390
That, urged by thee, I turned the tuneful art,
From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart ;
For Wit's false mirror, held up Nature's light ;
Showed erring Pride, Whatever is, is right ;
That Reason, Passion, answer one great aim ; 395
That true Self-love and Social are the same
That Virtue only makes our bliss below !
And all our Knowledge is, Ourselves to know.

THE UNIVERSAL PRAYER.

DEO OPT. MAX.

FATHER of all ! in every age,
In every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord !

Thou Great First Cause, least understood, 5
Who all my sense confined
To know but this, that Thou art good,
And that myself am blind ;

Yet gave me, in this dark estate,
To see the good from ill ; 20
And, binding nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will.

What conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns me not to do,
This, teach me more than Hell to shun,
That, more than Heaven pursue.

What blessings thy free bounty gives,
Let me not cast away ;
For God is paid when man receives ;
To enjoy is to obey.

Yet not to earth's contracted span
 Thy goodness let me bound,
 Or think Thee Lord alone of man,
 When thousand worlds are round :

Let not this weak, unknowing hand
 Presume Thy bolts to throw,
 And deal damnation round the land
 On each I judge Thy foe.

If I am right, Thy grace impart,
 Still in the right to stay ;
 If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
 To find that better way.

Save me alike from foolish pride,
 Or impious discontent,
 At aught Thy wisdom has denied,
 Or aught Thy goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's woe,
 To hide the fault I see ;
 That mercy I to others show,
 That mercy show to me.

Mean though I am, not wholly so,
 Since quickened by Thy breath ;
 Oh lead me wheresoe'er I go,
 Through this day's life or death.

This day, be bread and peace my lot :
 All else beneath the sun,
 Thou know'st if best bestowed or not,
 And let Thy will be done.

To Thee, whose temple is all space,
 Whose altar, earth, sea, skies,
 One chorus let all Being raise,
 All Nature's incense rise !

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NOTES.

EPISTLE I.

l. 1. St. John. The earliest editions read "Lælius." Pope took this name from Caius Lælius, surnamed Sapiens, the friend of Scipio Africanus the Younger. Cicero had made him a principal speaker in several of his philosophical dialogues.

Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), the Tory leader. In 1710 he became one of the two Secretaries of State, and was Harley's chief colleague. After the accession of George I. he soon fled to the Continent and joined the Pretender. An Act of Attainder against him was passed by the Whig government, but in 1723 he was permitted to return to England, and in 1725 his attainder was reversed. He was not, however, allowed to take his seat in the House of Lords. He spent his time partly in philosophic retirement at Dawley, his seat near Uxbridge, and partly in a violent political agitation against Walpole, of which his weekly paper, "The Craftsman" (1726), was at once the sign and the instrument. The agitation against Walpole failed, and from 1735 to 1742 Bolingbroke again retired to France, and devoted himself mainly to literature. In 1742 he returned once more to his native country and died in 1751. His chief works are "Letters on the Study of History," "A Dissertation upon Parties," and "The Idea of a Patriot King." Among his friends were Pope and Swift. "I think," says the latter in 1711, "Mr. St. John the greatest young man I ever knew; wit, capacity, beauty, quickness of apprehension, good learning, and an excellent taste; the best orator in the House of Commons, admirable conversation and good manners; generous and a despiser of money. . . . He endeavours too much to mix up the fine gentleman and the man of pleasure with the man of business."

l. 5, expatiate, wander. From the Latin *expatiari* (*ex-spatiari*, from *spatium*), to wander.

l. 6, but not without a plan. The first edition had "A mighty maze! of walks without a plan." The alteration was required

not only by orthodoxy, but by consistency; for, as Johnson says, "If there were no plan, it was in vain to describe or trace the maze" ("Life of Pope," ed. Ryland, p. 57).

l. 9, **beat**, to go over in search of game; compare ll. 11-13. Pope was not himself an active man, and took no share in outdoor sports; but, like most English classics, he often uses metaphors and similes from sports and games. Warburton points out that "these metaphors, drawn from the field sports of setting and shooting, seem much below the dignity of the subject."

l. 10, **what the covert yield**. *Covert*, or cover, place in which game can lie concealed. *Yield* should be singular, since the two singular subjects are absolutely distinct; probably the rhyme took the precedence of grammar.

l. 12, **who blindly creep, or sightless soar**. All creatures, from the lowest worm to the highest man who soars, but yet cannot understand.

l. 13, **shoot folly as it flies**. The editors, including Mark Pattison, refer to Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel," pt. ii.:

"Observes, and shoots their treasons as they fly."

But this line is not one of Dryden's; it occurs in the portion contributed by Nahum Tate.

l. 14, **the manners, habits of life**.

l. 16, **vindicate the ways of God to man**. Compare Milton, "Paradise Lost," i. 26. He prays the Divine Spirit thus:

"What in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support;
That to the height of this great argument,
I may assert Eternal Providence
And justify the ways of God to man."

This is the real object of the present poem, as it was that of the "Paradise Lost." See Introduction, p. xxiii.

l. 18, **but from what we know**. Reasonings on the nature of God are necessarily by way of analogy. "It must be allowed just, to join abstract reasonings with the observation of facts, and argue from such facts as are known, to others that are like them; from that part of the divine government over intelligent creatures which comes under our view, to that larger and more general government over them which is beyond it" (Butler, "Analogy," Introd.).

ll. 24, 25, **See, Observe**. Infinitives after "can" in l. 23.

l. 29, **this frame, the ordered universe, the cosmos**.

the hearings, the parts which support the rest.

l. 30, **nice, delicate**. See p. 66, note to l. 219.

l. 31, **pervading**. This is ironical. Your soul is not omnipresent, and therefore fails.

l. 32, **or can a part contain the whole**. Or, even if you have "looked through" them, can your mind, a part of the universe, conceive the whole? The argument is not quite as convincing as it looks; since the relation of part and whole is a spatial one which has no place in the relation of knowing and known. A geographer may understand the configuration of a continent of which he is an infinitesimal portion.

l. 34, **And drawn supports**. And which, being drawn together, supports them. The "great chain" is the universe as a whole.

l. 37, **the harder reason**. Pattison quotes from Voltaire: "J'ai été flatté de voir qu'il [Pope] s'est rencontré avec moi dans une chose que j'avais dite il y a plusieurs années. Vous vous étonnez que Dieu ait fait l'homme si borné, si ignorant, si peu heureux. Que ne vous étonnez pas qu'il ne l'ait pas fait plus borné, plus ignorant, et plus malheureux?" ("Dict. Philos." iv. p. 412.)

l. 41, **argent fields**, the sky bright with silver stars. A phrase of Milton's ("Paradise Lost," iii. 460).

l. 42, **satellites**. Formerly a four-syllabled word, with accent on the second syllable.

l. 44, **must form the best**. This is the central doctrine of the doctrine of Optimism, contained in Leibnitz's "Théodicée," a set of essays on the Goodness of God, Free Will, and the Existence of Evil. Granted (he argues) that God is All-wise, All-powerful and All-good, then He must have under this the best of all possible universes. "Cette suprême sagesse, jointe à une bonté qui n'est pas moins infinie qu'elle, n'a pu manquer de choisir le meilleur" ("Théodicée," pt. i., § 8). See Introduction, p. xxii.

l. 45, **full or not coherent be**. There must be no gaps or else it will not hold together. This is strongly insisted on by Leibnitz and by Bolingbroke. The former says, "Il faut savoir que tout est lié dans chacun des mondes possibles; l'univers, quel qu'il puisse être, est tout d'une pièce, comme un océan."

The Principle of Continuity was a favourite commonplace with the philosophers of the seventeenth century. Some of the scholastics of the Middle Ages had already asserted it ("In mundo non datur hiatus"), but it was more widely adopted after the break-up of the Middle Ages. Thus, to take two typical thinkers, Sir Thomas Browne and Locke both adopt it. "There is in this universe a stair, or manifest scale, of creatures, rising not disorderly or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion" ("Religio Medici," pt. i.). "In all the visible corporeal

world we see no chasms or gaps. All quit down from us, the descent is by easy steps, and a continued series of things, that in each remove differ very little one from the other. . . . And when we consider the infinite power and wisdom of the Maker, we have reason to think that it is suitable to the magnificent harmony of the Universe, and the great design and infinite goodness of the Architect, that the species of creatures should also, by gentle degrees, ascend upwards from us toward His infinite Perfection, as we see they gradually descend from us downwards" ("Essay concerning Human Understanding," III. vi. § 12). Leibnitz no doubt helped to popularize it, but it must be remembered that Locke's "Essay" was published twenty years before the "Théodicée."

l. 48, such a rank as man. Pope simplifies the issue too much. The order of the universe is not that of a chain or single series, in which every existence must find its place. You cannot put, *e.g.*, mushrooms, oaks, worms, and man in one line. They have developed along different lines.

l. 52, right, as relative to all. "Atheists and divines find fault with the whole. They cannot, or they will not, conceive that the seeming imperfection of the parts is necessary to the real perfection of the whole" (Bolingbroke, Fragment 50, "Works," v. 381, ed. 1754).

l. 53, In human works. This is perhaps due to Bolingbroke. Warton refers to the following passage: "We labour hard, we complicate various means to arrive at one end; and several systems of conduct are often employed by us to bring about some one paltry purpose. But God neither contrives nor executes like man. His means are simple, his purposes various; and the same system that answers the greatest, answers the least" ("Works," v. 334, ed. 1754). But the thing had been said before by many other writers.

l. 59, verges, to incline, tend to (Latin, *vergo*).

l. 64, Egypt's God. The god Osiris was supposed by the ancient Egyptians to be incarnate in the form of a bull, kept in a temple at Memphis, and bearing the name of Apis.

l. 69, fault. Pronounced without sounding the *l*. The Middle English form is *faut* from the old French *faut*, itself derived from Latin, *fallere*. In the eighteenth century the *l* in such words was seldom pronounced. Compare *calf*, *half*, *folk*, etc.

l. 70, as he ought. A doctrine found in various thinkers of the School of Descartes. A passage from one of them (Régis) is quoted by Leibnitz, "Théodicée," pt. iii., § 341. Leibnitz adds, "La place que Dieu a assignée à l'homme dans l'espace et dans le temps, borne les perfections qu'il a pu recevoir."

ll. 73-76. These four lines were in the original edition (1732)

placed after l. 98. Pope omitted them in the edition of 1740, but Warburton placed them here in that of 1743. They are equally irrelevant in both places.

l. 77, *Heaven from all creatures.* Cf. Horace, "Carm." iii. xxix. 29-30 :

"Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus."

l. 81, *The lamb thy riot dooms.* In a forgotten poem by Dr. William King (on whom see Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," edit. by Napier, ii. 33 *seq.*), called "Mully of Mountown" (1701), there is a passage bearing a striking resemblance to this. But the whole of this part of the "Essay on Man" is woven from scraps borrowed from other authors, and extraordinarily improved in the borrowing.

l. 83, *the flowery food.* Note the abstract and conventional language, which was felt to be more dignified than specifying the grass and daisies.

l. 87, *Who.* This refers to "Heaven"; that is, God.

l. 88, *a sparrow fall.* Of course the reference is to St. Matt. x. 29; but Pope has divested it of its special teaching—"Ye are of more value than many sparrows." The Deity that he preaches values all His creatures alike.

l. 93, *What future bliss.* In what thy future happiness may consist.

l. 98, *Rests and expatiates.* Of course, in fancy. On "expatiate," see note to l. 5.

l. 99, *Lo, the poor Indian.* "Lo" is from the A.S. *lá*. "It seems to have been confused with *lóc*, i.e., look thou; though the vowel is different" (Skeat). By "Indian" he means a native of America.

Pope's authority for this account of the "poor Indian's" belief in a future state was perhaps William Penn.

"These poor People are under a dark Night in things relating to Religion . . . yet they believe a God and Immortality, without the help of Metaphysicks; for they say, There is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again" (William Penn's "Original Proposal and Plan for Founding and Building of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, America"; Coleman's Reprint, p. 6).

l. 102, *Solar walk,* the apparent path of the sun in the heavens, the ecliptic.

l. 108, *fiends,* here, of course, wicked men.

l. 110, *no seraph's fire.* By a seraph is meant an angel of exalted rank. The word came from a Hebrew verb, *sâraf*,

meaning "to burn." Compare Psalm civ. 4, and Isaiah, vi. 6. Milton calls the seraphim "ardours":

" But from among
Thousand celestial ardours, where he stood
Veiled with his gorgeous wings."

"Paradise Lost," v. 248-250.

Pope refers to the "rapt seraph that adores and burns" again in this Epistle (l. 278).

l. 113, *scale of sense*, the balance, not of pure reason, but of reason limited by the senses.

l. 117, *gust*, taste (Latin, *gustus*). "For thy gust" means to please thy palate. Used in metaphorical sense by Shakespeare (e.g., "the gust he hath in quarrelling," "Twelfth Night," l. iii. 33).

l. 121, *the balance and the rod*. The symbols of distributive and corrective justice; God is the "giver of all good gifts" and the "judge of all the earth."

l. 127, *Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell*. It is usually said by theologians that the fall of Lucifer and his angels was due to pride. Compare Milton, "Paradise Lost," v. 659-670.

l. 132, *pride answers, "Tis for mine"*. The theologians and philosophers of the seventeenth century were fond of urging that the universe was not made for man. Thus Leibnitz ("Théodicée," pt. ii., § 118): "J'accorde que le bonheur des créatures intelligentes est la principale partie des desseins de Dieu, car elles lui ressemblent le plus; mais je ne vois point cependant comment on puisse prouver que c'est son but unique" (cf. § 120).

"It is a topic," says Pattison, "on which Bolingbroke is constantly insisting."

l. 133, *genial power*, her joyful, amiable power. (Latin, *genialis*, pleasant, connected with *genus*). Compare "the kindly fruits of the earth."

l. 140, *My footstool earth*. In imitation of Isaiah, lxvi. 1: "Then saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool."

canopy. The history of this word is curious. It comes from *κῶνος*, a cone; the Greeks called the gnat or mosquito *κῶνωψ*, cone-faced, on account of the shape of its head; hence we get *κωνωπίον*, a bed with mosquito curtains, used in its Latin form by Horace (Epode IX. 16). From the Latin came the French (*canopé*), the *o* giving place to *a* in the French word before its importation into English.

l. 143, *When earthquakes swallow*. Many thousand lives had recently been lost in this way. In 1716 a fearful series of

earthquakes destroyed over twenty thousand lives in Algiers; a great earthquake occurred in Chile in 1722, raising over one hundred thousand square miles several feet above the level of the rest of the land; severe shocks took place in Italy and Sicily in 1706, 1726, and 1732, attended by great loss of life. In November, 1731, an earthquake, it is said, swallowed up one hundred thousand people at Pekin.

l. 147, some change since all began. Supply "there has been" after "change."

l. 150, and can man do less? Must we not then expect to find erring and vicious men?

l. 151, As much that end a constant course requires. Pope means that the end God has in view no more requires perfect goodness in men than it does perfect regularity in external nature.

l. 156, a Borgia or a Catiline. Pope means Cæsar Borgia, the son of the Pope Rodrigo Borgia, called Alexander VI., who reigned from 1492 to 1503. Making every allowance, these two men seem to have taken the palm for wickedness in an age of almost unparalleled vice. The son was made a cardinal at seventeen by his father. But he preferred a more active life, and causing his elder brother to be assassinated, succeeded him as Captain-General of the Church. His father heaped various honours on him. He became Duke of Urbino, Duke of Romagna, and so on; and spent his life in plotting, fighting, and secret assassination. It was commonly believed that Alexander VI. died a victim to a mistake made by him and his son in an attempt to poison nine of the cardinals. Cæsar Borgia, though dangerously ill, survived and died in battle at the age of thirty (1507).

Lucius Sergius Catilina, a dissolute Roman noble, one of the party of Sulla. In 63 B.C. he formed a conspiracy among the profligate young nobles to murder the consul Cicero and other hostile politicians, and even to set fire to the city of Rome. This plot was discovered and denounced by Cicero. Catiline fled and took up arms, but was defeated by Antonius and killed in battle at the beginning of the next year.

l. 160, young Ammon. Alexander the Great, the young King of Macedon, when he invaded Egypt paid a visit (331) to the great temple of Amun, the horned Libyan god, called by the Greeks Ammon, and identified with Zeus. The priests of the temple saluted him as the son of Amun, and he was very proud of the title.

l. 162, Account for moral as for natural things. As Crousaz said, it is impossible to avoid the objection that by taking this line of argument Pope places moral evil on the same

plane as physical evil. Physical evil, like plagues and earthquakes, may be inconvenient to man, but cannot be regarded as inconsistent with the moral nature of God. If God tolerates it, he is not tolerating what is necessarily opposed to the triumph of holiness in any and every individual human being. If a man is slain by an earthquake, he may be all the fitter for the kingdom of heaven; and the earthquake is doing no real harm. In the same way, if a man is poisoned by a Borgia, the man may be morally none the worse for it, but Borgia certainly is. Is Borgia's wickedness just as tolerable to God as the earthquake? And further, granted that there is no harm in placing the two on the same plane, the question still remains unanswered. Why does either exist? Pope only shows at most that if physical evil is compatible with the moral government of the universe, moral evil is also compatible. But he does not touch the question, Is either?

169, *elemental strife*, strife among the elements of which the world is composed.

1. 174, *little less than angel*. "For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels" (Psalm viii. 5).

1. 176, *To want*, because he is without.

1. 181, *compensated*. Accent on the second syllable.

1. 190, *not to act or think beyond mankind*. If this advice were followed, and man desired no powers which he has not at present acquired, all progress, both material and scientific, would come to an end, and religion would cease to exist.

1. 193, *microscopic eye*. The substance of this is taken from Locke's "Essay concerning Human Understanding," bk. II., chap. xxxiii., § 12, headed, "Our faculties of discovery suited to our state." In the course of it Locke says: "And if by the help of such microscopical eyes (if I may so call them) a man could penetrate farther than ordinary into the secret composition and radical texture of bodies, he would not make any great advantage by the change, if such acute sight would not serve to conduct him to the market and exchange; if he could not see things he was to avoid at a convenient distance, nor distinguish things he had to do with by those sensible qualities others do."

1. 197, *Or touch*. This passage is so compressed that the sense is a little obscure. It means, "What advantage would it be, supposing his sense of touch were tremblingly alive in all parts of his body, and as a consequence he had to smart and suffer at every pore."

1. 200, *Die of a rose*. Supply "if he were to" before "die."

aromatic pain. Note the transferred epithet. It is the *rose* that is aromatic. Compare Milton:

“Swinges the scaly horror of his folded tail.”

“Ode on the Morning of Christ’s Nativity,”
stanza xviii.

l. 202, **music of the spheres.** The followers of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras taught that the great crystal spheres, which they supposed carried the planets and stars round the earth, made music in their motion. Compare Milton’s “Ode on the Morning of Christ’s Nativity,” stanza xiii.:

“Ring out, ye crystal spheres!
Once bless our human ears,
If ye have power to touch our senses so;
And let your silver chime
Move in melodious time;
And let the bass of heaven’s deep organ blow;
And with your ninefold harmony
Make up full consort to the angelic symphony.”

In the passage of Locke just referred to we read: “If our sense of hearing were but a thousand times quicker than it is, how would a perpetual noise distract us! and we should in the quietest retirement be less able to sleep or meditate than in the middle of a sea-fight” (II. xxxiii. § 12).

l. 204, **The whispering zephyr and the purling rill.** Notice these hackneyed specimens of the “poetical diction” admired in the eighteenth century. To *purl* is to murmur, and is probably an imitative word (compare *purrr*). Some authorities say the *l* is a frequentative suffix.

l. 208, **sensual, mental powers.** Supply “and” before “mental.”

l. 210, **green myriads.** Many of the smaller flies that live in the grass and on trees are green. But perhaps we have here another instance of transferred epithet (see note to l. 200).

l. 212, **mole’s dim curtain.** The mole’s eyes are small, and are popularly believed to be covered with a curtain (note the transferred epithet again). Pennant mentions that the eyes are “covered very closely with fur” (“British Zoology,” i. 159).

beam. Used, rather violently, for keen sight.

l. 213, **headlong lioness between.** Observe the preposition after the noun, as often in Anglo-Saxon. Compare such Shakespearean phrases as “God before.”

l. 214, **sagacious, quick of sense.** From Latin, *sagax*, often used of dogs, as equivalent to keen-scented.

tainted green, grass on which the scent lies.

1. 219, *nice*, delicate in discrimination. The transformation of meaning of the word *nice* is curious. The word comes from Latin, *nescius*, ignorant; and the meaning shifts from ignorant to stupid, and then to fastidious. Hence, on one hand, discriminating keenly (as here), and, on the other hand, that which a keenly discriminating taste would select (see l. 30 above); from the last meaning comes our most ordinary use of it, equivalent to delicious.

1. 221, *How instinct varies*. This couplet is clumsily expressed. He wants to tell us "How instinct varies," not *in* the grovelling swine, but *from* the grovelling swine to the half-reasoning elephant. In the middle the construction is changed (this is called *anacoluthon*, a break in the proper sequence of construction), and he ends as though he had begun, "How small is the instinct of the swine."

1. 223, *barrier*. Dissyllable with accent on second syllable. This might suggest that the word was newly introduced from the French; but it had been in use since as early as the fourteenth century. The "New English Dictionary" gives a quotation from about 1325.

1. 226, *What thin partitions*. Compare Dryden:

"Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide."

"Absalom and Achitophel," pt. i., 163-164.

1. 227, *join*. Pronounced "jine" in early eighteenth century verse. Compare "Essay on Criticism":

"While expletives their feeble aid do join,
And ten low words oft creep in one dull line."

(346-347.)

Dryden has the rhyme, "join—design" ("Absalom and Achitophel," pt. i., 493-494); "refines—joins" ("Hind and Panther," pt. iii., 689-690). The same rhymes are found in Johnson, Churchill, and other eighteenth century writers. See Introduction.

1. 232, *all these powers in one*. Pattison points out that in this argument Pope perhaps followed Seneca (Epist. lxxvi.).

1. 234, *quick, living*. Compare "The quick and the dead" in the Apostle's Creed.

1. 237, *Vast chain of being*. Here again Pope insists on the continuity of natural forms. As Pattison says, the idea is of constant recurrence in the poetry of that age. But he forgets to say that this was because the most characteristic thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were always insisting

on it. We get it in Locke and Leibnitz, Ray the naturalist, Bolingbroke (see note to l. 46 above).

l. 245, *Nature's chain*. Not the Stoic *εἰρησπύην*, as Pattison suggests, the chain of causes and effects; but the continuous series of species, the "vast chain of being" (cf. l. 46).

l. 252, *Planets and suns*. This line appears to be the apodosis, or consequent of the previous one; in the same way, l. 254 would be the apodosis of l. 253. But Pope is careless of logical connection, as long as he produces his rhetorical effect; and the relation of l. 254 to l. 253 is not clear. In any case, l. 255 merely explains and amplifies l. 254.

l. 256, *tremble*. So in all editions published during Pope's life. Warburton corrected it to "trembles" in the edition of 1751.

l. 259, *What if the foot*. Compare 1 Corinthians, xii. 15-21, and the fall of the Belly and the Members, told in "Coriolanus," act i., sc. 1.

l. 262, *To serve mere engines*. Supply "as" before "mere."

l. 268, *and God the soul*. See the Introduction, p. xxi-xxii. This passage, to the end of the Epistle, is one of the finest expositions of the "higher Pantheism."

l. 278, *rapt seraph*. On "seraph," see note to l. 110 above. "Rapt" (Latin, *raptus*), snatched away. There was an earlier English word, *rapped*, the past participle of *rap*, a word (Scandinavian in origin) which meant to snatch or seize hastily (compare "Cymbeline," I. vi. 51), "What thus *raps* you?"). The two words were confused, and the English word *rapped* identified with the Latin *raptus*.

l. 282, *Our proper bliss, our own special bliss* (French, *propre*).

l. 286, *secure, certain*, in the ordinary objective sense. Not, as Pattison thinks, in the subjective sense of "without care" (*se-cura*), as used by Shakespeare and the other Elizabethans:

"Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole."

"Hamlet," I. v. 61.

l. 289, *All Nature is but Art*. "Nature is the art of God" (Browne, "Hydriotaphia"). He says the same thing in "Religio Medici," pt. i.

l. 293, *in erring Reason's spite*. In the original edition it stands, "And in thy Reason's spite." "But having afterwards discovered, or been shown, that the truth which subsisted in spite of reason could not be very clear," Pope substituted the reading we now have (Johnson, "Life of Pope," ed. Ryland. p. 57).

EPISTLE II.

l. 1, Know then thyself. The maxim, *γνώθι σεαυτόν*, "know thyself," was attributed by Greek tradition, sometimes to Thales of Miletus, one of the Seven Sages, sometimes to the collective wisdom of the Seven Sages, and sometimes to Apollo himself.

l. 5, Sceptic. A sceptic is one who doubts in religion or philosophy, one who professes himself unable to make up his mind. The ancient sceptics declared that nothing could be known for certain. Pope seems to employ the word loosely for one who denies the spiritual nature of man, a common misuse of it.

l. 6, the Stoic's pride. The philosophical sect of the Stoics was founded by Zeno. They taught that virtue is the one and only desirable thing, and that all else is, strictly speaking, indifferent. The sage or virtuous man is without strong feeling; he alone is free and he is in essential worth not inferior even to Zeus. Seneca says that he differs only in his mortality from God himself. These opinions will make clear what Pope means by "the Stoic's pride."

l. 11, Alike in ignorance. The philosopher and the thoughtless idler are not "alike in ignorance," though the former may recognize that he is ignorant of the answers to many problems, which the latter cannot even ask himself. There is a very solid mass of knowledge which the philosopher can put to the credit side of his account, in spite of certain important liabilities with regard to a few questions in metaphysics and the more abstract parts of the physical sciences.

The whole passage is full of exaggerated antithesis. Pope's rhetoric has run away with him, as it did with Pascal, from whose "*Pensées*" he probably borrowed the passage.

"La faiblesse de la raison de l'homme paraît bien davantage en ceux qui ne la connaissent pas qu'en ceux qui la connaissent. Si on est trop jeune, on ne juge pas bien; si on est trop vieux, de même. Si on n'y songe pas assez, si on y songe trop, on s'entête et l'on ne peut trouver la vérité" ("*Pensées*," Partie I., art. vi.).

l. 14, Still, ever, always.

abused or disabused, deceived or undeceived.

l. 21, Instruct the planets. Pope wilfully misunderstands the meaning of "law," as used in science, and speaks of the discovery of Kepler and Newton as though astronomers meant to give orders to the planets, instead of merely stating the uniformities which have been observed in natural phenomena. See l. 35, below. Notice he uses "orbs" instead of "orbits."

l. 22, **Correct old Time.** Warburton says: "This alludes to Sir Isaac Newton's *Grecian Chronology*." Newton's "*Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended*" was published in 1728, after his death; it attempted, partly on astronomical grounds, to fix the dates of certain events in sacred and profane history, and particularly to explain and rectify certain discrepancies between them.

It is more probable, however, that it may refer to the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, on the Continent, which had been recently (1700) adopted by the Protestant States of Germany, having been since 1583 adopted in Roman Catholic countries. It was not introduced in England till 1752.

l. 23, **Plato, the Athenian philosopher** (died 347 B.C.).

empyrean sphere, the fiery sphere (Greek, *ἔμπερος*). The outermost sphere which contained and controlled the spheres of the planets and fixed stars.

It was here that the Platonists found a home for ideas, or ideally perfect prototypes and causes of the things which we perceive in the world of sense-perception. The highest is that of Divine Reason.

l. 25, **his followers.** The Neo-Platonists of Alexandria, who mingled with Platonism many additional mystical ideas, derived from Oriental theology. The "Theosophists" and "Esoteric Buddhists" of the present day teach some of the same doctrines.

l. 27, **Eastern priests.** Doubtless the whirling of the Moham-medan "dancing dervishes" is here alluded to.

l. 30, **and be a fool.** Notice the violence of the anticlimax.

l. 34, **as we show an ape.** Critics are divided as to whether Pope means that the "superior beings" (i.e., the higher intelligence, such as angels) exhibited Newton to each other because they admired his intelligence, or because they despised his pretensions to "unfold all Nature's law." Pope, who here affects cynical contempt for the littleness of human knowledge, and poses as a sort of Pascal, or pious agnostic, certainly means to suggest ridicule. This is borne out by the fact that the passage was in all probability (as Mr. Churton Collins points out) derived from Bolingbroke's scoffing remark that "Superior beings who look down on our intellectual system will not find, I persuade myself, so great a difference between a Gascon *petit-maitre* and a monkey, whatever partiality we may have for our species" (Bolingbroke, "*Philosophical Works*," iv. p. 3).

l. 35, **rapid comet bind.** See note to l. 21.

l. 37, **Who saw its fires.** Could he who saw the comet's fires arise and descend, explain, etc.

l. 44, **equipage**, apparatus, furniture (French, *équiper*, to furnish, equip). "Equipage of pride" means magnificent trappings.

l. 50, **Of all our vices**. Supply "which" before "of." He is probably thinking of the lower arts, which only minister to the animal appetites, and the less refined intellectual impulses, such as curiosity. He says, "Get rid of the whole of the 'equipage of pride' which science has adopted; or at any rate those excrementitious parts which minister to our vices."

Pope, like Swift, was fond of ridiculing science; and, like Swift, he was quite unqualified for the task, because of his ignorance of the work done by his great contemporaries. Much of the third voyage of "Gulliver" fails of its effect for this reason.

l. 54, **Self-love, to urge**. Pope follows the disciples of Hobbes, the "licentious reasoners" confuted by Butler, in allowing only one motive impulse in human nature, viz., self-love. See Butler's "Sermons on Human Nature."

l. 59, **acts, actuates, gives activity to**. Used by Prior, Locke, Addison, and most of the great writers of the period in this sense.

ll. 61-62, **Man, but for that**. "This" must refer to reason; and "that" to self-love. What Pope means by "no action could attend" is not clear; since self-love has nothing to do with our attention to our actions. There is here no proper antithesis between the work of self-love and the work of reason, as exhibited by the poet in ll. 67 *seq.* If we take "attend" in the sense of wait for, expect, the meaning is still more unsatisfactory. We have already pointed out that Pope is wrong in regarding self-love as the only spring of action; but even if it were, this passage is incomprehensible. The truth is that Pope, though he had a large knowledge of books, was not an accurate thinker, and he knew as little of psychology as he did of astronomy.

l. 72, **Reason's**. Supply "objects."

l. 78, **use, attend**. Imperatives.

still, ever, constantly.

l. 80, **Each, viz., habit and experience**. But they certainly do not in themselves "restrain" self-love, since impulses grow *stronger* by habit.

l. 81, **schoolmen**. Usually the followers of the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages, which was based on Aristotle and developed by such men as St. Anselm, Abelard, Roscellinus, Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas. Here, however, it means the academic and professional teachers of moral philosophy, such as university professors. Pope in this passage

protests against the needless multiplication of subtle distinctions without a difference, the habit of constant analysis without any attempt to show the essential unity of human nature. His own division of self-love and reason might have served him as an example of the error. What follows ll. 87-90 is a bad instance of what is called "Faculty Psychology," in which the various kinds of mental activity are looked at in isolation, as having a kind of individuality of their own. Neither self-love nor reason in reality aims at pleasure, or desires to avoid pain. All we can say is that a man in so far as he has self-love aims at the well-being of self, and so far as he has reason understands the relation of his ideas to each other.

l. 91, **Pleasure, or wrong.** Pleasure, says Pope, if rightly apprehended, is our greatest good; and if wrongly apprehended, our greatest evil. He means to say that we always aim at pleasure, and that we get it if we are wise; while we are made miserable by our failure to get it, or by getting the wrong sort of pleasure, if we are foolish.

The doctrine that we necessarily aim at pleasure is found in many ancient writers. Montaigne had popularized it in the sixteenth century, and Hobbes and Locke in the seventeenth. The line of argument pursued by Bishop Butler showed the fallacy of their reasoning; and although held by some of the Utilitarian school (e.g., by Bentham and Mill) it is generally rejected by modern writers. "Because the end or the object of the impulse is something that excites, or seems to excite, pleasure, it need not necessarily be the feeling of pleasure itself. The impulse is essentially determined by an idea, is a striving after the content of this idea. In hunger, e.g., the impulse has reference primarily to the food, not to the feeling of pleasure in its consumption" (Höffding, "Outlines of Psychology," transl., p. 323; compare James, "Principles of Psychology," ii. 549 *seq.*; Sidgwick, "Methods of Ethics," bk. i., chap. iv.; Green, "Prolegomena to Ethics," bk. ii., chap. ii., bk. iii., ch. i.).

l. 93, **Modes of self-love.** Here again Pope is following the shallow teaching current in his age, popularized by Hobbes and such writers as Bernard de Mandeville, "Fable of the Bees" (1705, 1714). Butler's confutation is contained in his "Sermons" (1726), especially the Preface and Sermon XI., and accepted by nearly all modern writers in psychology. He says, "The sum is, men have various appetites, passions and particular affections, quite distinct both from self-love and from benevolence." Again, "It is not because we love ourselves that we find delight in such and such object, but because we have particular affections towards them. Take away these affections,

and you leave self-love absolutely nothing at all to employ itself about."

l. 98, **List, enlist.** Pope's is the older word. Elwin says that the form "enlist" was apparently unknown to Johnson; but this is an error. Johnson, it is true, did not insert it in his Dictionary. But "enlist" is found occasionally in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century writers, and Johnson uses it himself as the synonym of "list" when he gives the definition of this last.

l. 99, **that imparted.** "That" is the "care of Reason." Pope's account of the nature of virtue is as erroneous as his psychology. He says that "passions, *though* selfish" (apparently suggesting that some are not selfish, in contradiction of l. 93), become virtues "if their means be fair," that is, if in securing their ends they do not employ bad means; for they thus become rational, and becoming rational, are exalted to the class of virtues. Let the reader apply this to the case of hatred, lust, and fear, and he will see that the statement is entirely false.

l. 101, **Stoics.** See note to this Epistle, l. 6. Pope is again in error. The Stoic apathy (*ἀπάθεια*) had no likeness to laziness; it was a brave indifference to pain and pleasure, perfect self-control. The Stoics, unlike the Epicureans, usually took an active part in political life, as a passage in Stobæus ("Eclog." ii. 186) shows.

l. 105, **in act, in activity.**

l. 108, **the card.** Probably the compass, which carries a card on which the points are marked. Pattison thinks, however, that it means a *chart*, as in Bacon, "Essays," xviii.: "Let him carry with him also some *card* or book describing the country." Warton says: "This passage is exactly copied from Fontenelle, tome i., p. 109." This is the first of the "Dialogues des Morts Anciens." But the statement, like many other charges of plagiarism made against Pope, is unsupported. Fontenelle says, only "Les passions sont chés [chez] les hommes des vents qui sont nécessaires pour mettre tout en mouvement, quoiqu'ils causent souvent des orages."

l. 109, **in the still calm.** Compare 1 Kings, xix. 11, 12.

l. 110, **walks upon the wind.** Compare Psalm xviii. 10: "He did fly upon the wings of the wind."

l. 114, **can man destroy?** "Man" is the object.

l. 121, **well-accorded strife.** An instance of the rhetorical device known as *oxymoron*, or union of opposites.

l. 124, **in act, in activity, in actuality.**

l. 126, **The whole employ.** On this doctrine, that we aim only at pleasure, see note to l. 91.

l. 131, **one Master Passion.** Compare "Moral Essays," i.

174 *seq.* This piece of cheap and showy psychology has nothing to support it outside the walls of the theatre and the pages of the satirists.

l. 132, **Aaron's serpent.** Exodus, vii. 12.

l. 133, **As man, perhaps.** Warburton quotes Pliny, and Pattison quotes Seneca and Manilius, as possible sources.

l. 139, **humour**, fluid of the body, or by transference of meaning, contents of the mind (passions, desires, intellectual faculties, etc.). See note to l. 159.

l. 144, **peccant part**, diseased part. A phrase of Dryden's (Juvenal, x. 489). Just as it was said that the blood all went to nourish an ulcer or a cancer, so all the vital forces of the mind went to nourish the ruling passion. Compare Ben Jonson on the word "Humour":

"—Now thus far

It may, by metaphor, apply itself

Unto the general disposition ;

As when some one peculiar quality

Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw

All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,

In their confluxions, all to run one way,

This may be truly said to be a humour."

Prologue to "Every Man out of his Humour."

l. 146, **faculties.** Of course this really includes "wit" and "spirit."

l. 150, **weak queen**, reason. Pope's metaphors have got very confused. If the "favourite" means anything, it must be a favourite of reason ; and there is no shame in obeying it.

l. 159, **small humours.** The term "humour" is very loosely used in the literature of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. It meant originally any fluid (Latin, *humor*, moisture); thus any fluids of the body, particularly the four chief fluids—blood, phlegm, bile, and black bile—such as are contained in canals or vessels, and have clearly defined qualities. As one or other of these predominated, then the man's disposition or temperament varied, and he was called sanguine (*sanguis*), phlegmatic, choleric (*χόλη*), or melancholy (*μέλας, χόλη*). The science of that age did not make a clear distinction between the mental and the physical, and sometimes the term "humour" is used for the physiological fact, and sometimes for the psychological fact, which was supposed to be connected with it. An illustration of this is seen in the passage from Ben Jonson, part of which has been just now quoted (note to l. 144). Besides these four chief humours there were others, due to corruptions of these, and nearly all diseases were put down to the presence of

such "vitiated humours." The business of the physician was to "expel the ill-humours." Thus in a passage in the "Spectator" (quoted by Prof. E. E. Morris) we read: "Labour or exercise ferments the humours, casts them into their proper channels, throws off redundancies" (No. 115).

l. 166, *several, various, different* (French, *sevrer*, from Latin, *separare*).

l. 175, *The Eternal Art*. Nature (compare i. 289).

l. 177, *the mercury of man is fixed*. The changeable passions are steadied, just as quicksilver is "fixed" by the addition of something else. A body which usually became volatile at moderate temperature was said to be "fixed" by the early chemists when this no longer took place. Fixation is defined by Bailey as "making any volatile spirituous body endure the fire and not fly away, either by repeated distillations, or sublimations, or adding to it something of a fixing quality."

l. 182, *savage stocks*, the stems of wild, uncultivated trees. The process described by Pope is called grafting.

l. 194, *But what will grow*. Pope follows Mandeville, who describes shame and pride as "the two passions in which the seeds of most virtues are contained."

l. 197, *bias*. In the game of bowls, the weight placed in a bowl to prevent its running in a straight line is called the *bias*. "A weight fix'd on the side of a bowl, turning the course of the bowl that way towards which the bias looks" (Blount, "Glossographia"). The present passage means that reason makes use of the bias, so that the weighted bowl runs in the right direction.

l. 198, *Nero*. Nero, the emperor (reigned 54-68 A.D.), a monster of brutal cruelty and lust. He was believed to have set fire to Rome. Driven from power, he committed suicide at the age of thirty-one.

Titus (emperor, 79-81 A.D.), the eleventh of the twelve Cæsars, whose cry when he remarked one evening that he had done nothing good, was, "I have lost a day!" (See note to iv. 148.)

l. 199, *Catiline*. See note to i. 156.

l. 200, *Decius*. Publius Decius Mus, the consul who devoted himself to death at the battle of Vesuvius (340 B.C.), and thus secured victory for the Romans.

Curtius. Mettus Curtius, who leaped into the gulf which opened in the Forum in 362 B.C. Pattison remarks: "There is no special propriety of allusion. Hence the passage is weak; we feel that many other names would have served the purpose as well."

l. 203, *joined*. See note to i. 227 on the pronunciation.

1. 204, What shall divide? Genesis, i. 4: "God divided the light from the darkness." "The god within the mind" is reason.

1. 209, nice. Cf. note to i. 219.

1. 210, Where ends the virtue. Supply "to determine" before "where."

1. 217, Vice is a monster. Taken almost direct from Dryden ("Hind and Panther," ll. 33, 34):

"For truth has such a face and such a mien
As to be loved needs only to be seen."

1. 223, Orcades. The classical name for the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

1. 224, Zembla. Novya Zembla, in the north of European Russia.

1. 240, vice. Probably pronounced so as to really rhyme with "caprice." It *may* have been only a "printer's rhyme," that is, a rhyme to the eye; but there is reason to think that the long *i* retained as late as Pope its continental sound, and had not acquired the diphthongal sound we now give it.

1. 241, applied, gave.

1. 268, sot, drunkard; not merely, fool.

1. 269, Chemist, alchemist.

1. 272, pride, self-esteem. Rochefoucauld had said the same thing: "Nature seems to have bestowed pride on us, on purpose to save us the pain of knowing our own imperfections."

1. 275, Behold the child. Lines 275-282 first appeared in the edition of 1743. They were evidently suggested by a passage in Garth's "Dispensary," Canto V.

"Children at toys as men at titles aim,
And in effect both covet but the same,
This Philip's son proved in revolving years,
And first for rattles, then for worlds, shed tears."

(Elwin.)

1. 279, Scarfs. Black silk scarves were in the last century worn by doctors of divinity and dignified clergy. They probably represented the ancient almuce of fur similarly worn in earlier times. Addison alludes to the custom several times in the "Spectator"; see Nos. 21, 609.

garters, badges of the Order of the Garter.

1. 280, beads, the beads of the chaplet or rosary. The word is connected with "bid," which meant originally to pray. The word "bead" was transferred from the prayer to the little ball threaded on a string, by which each prayer was counted.

EPISTLE III.

l. 1, **Here then we rest.** First edition has "Learn, dulness, learn."

l. 2, **one end.** "The general good," as l. 14 tells us.

l. 4, **trim, finery, decoration.** Cf. Milton, "On the Nativity,"

l. 33:

"Nature in awe of him
Had doffed her gaudy trim."

l. 9, **plastic, moulding, giving shape to** (πλαστικός).

l. 10, **atoms.** The theory that the ultimate constituents of matter are extremely small bodies which cannot be further divided (atoms) is generally accepted by modern scientific men. Originally put forward by Democritus and the Epicureans, it had been laid aside for centuries, and was in Pope's time somewhat of a novelty.

l. 15, **dying vegetables.** Animals cannot feed on inorganic matter; and derive nearly all their nourishment from vegetables. When animals die and are resolved into inorganic constituents (ammonia, carbonic acid, etc.) they form food for plants.

l. 19, **Like bubbles.** Borrowed from the "Théodicée" (Preliminary Discourse, § 8). Leibnitz says that followers of Aristotle taught that there was a universal soul, or ocean of all individual souls. The souls of animals are born by detaching themselves like drops from this ocean, when they find a body which suits them, and when the body is destroyed they perish by again amalgamating with the ocean of souls.

The doctrine is closely connected with pantheism, and is, of course, incompatible with personal immortality.

l. 27, **for thy good.** "La cause de leur erreur est qu'ils imaginent que la nature n'a été faite que pour eux" ("Théodicée, § 262). Leibnitz is here giving and adopting the opinion of the great Jewish mediæval thinker, Moses Maimonides.

l. 29, **wanton, unrestrained.** From Mid. Eng. prefix *wan*, lacking (compare *want*), and *towen* (A.S. *togen*), past participle of *teón*, to draw, educate (Skeat).

l. 30, **lawn, grass.** *Lawn* is properly an open space in woods, Chaucer's *launde*, and comes from the same Celtic root as the Welsh *llan*.

l. 33, **his throat.** Pope, unlike most poets, gives the right sex to the songster. The female does not sing. Pattison calls attention to "the exquisite refinement by which 'to pour his

note' is raised into 'pour his throat'; any harshness of the metaphor being subdued by the repetition of the idea in the next line, 'swell the note.'" The figure of speech is a case of metonymy, the instrument put for the effect.

l. 46, "See man for mine." This is taken from Pierre Charron, who was a friend and imitator of Montaigne. "Et pour ce qu'il mendie, chétif qu'il est, son vivre, son entretien, ses commodités, des rayons clarté et chaleur du soleil, de la pluie et austres desgouts du ciel et de l'air il veut dire qu'il jouit du ciel et des élémens, comme si tout n'avoit esté faict et ne se remuoit que pour luy. En ce sens l'oyseau en pourroit dire autant, et peut-estre plus justement et constamment" (Charron, "De la Sagesse," livre i., chap. xl.). Compare Gay's fable, "The Man and the Flea" (1727), which ends thus:

"Not of the importance you suppose
(Replies a flea upon his nose);
Be humble, learn thyself to scan;
Know pride was never made for man.
'Tis vanity that swells thy mind.
What, heav'n and earth for thee design'd!
For thee! made only for one need,
That more important fleas might feed."
"Fables," xlix.

After l. 46 the following lines occur in the first edition of the "Essay on Man":

"What care to tend, to lodge, to cram, to treat him,
All this he knew; but not that 'twas to eat him.
As far as goose could judge, he reasoned right,
But as to Man, mistook the matter quite."

l. 50, wit, intelligent being. A very favourite word with Pope, used in several different meanings.

l. 56, *Philomela*, the nightingale. She and Procne were daughters of Pandion, King of Attica. Tereus, son of Ares, deceived Procne and then married her sister Philomela, saying Procne was dead. The fraud was discovered, and the two sisters carried out on Tereus a hideous revenge; he pursued them and they were changed into birds—Procne into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale.

l. 68, touch ethereal. Cf. Milton, "Samson Agonistes," l. 549:

"With touch ethereal of Heav'n's fiery rod."

It is used by Milton in this passage, however, for the beam of the newly risen sun, while Pope means the lightning. "Several

of the Ancients, and many of the Orientals since, esteemed those who were struck by lightning as sacred persons, and the particular favourites of Heaven" (Pope's note).

l. 77, standing miracle. Pope means that while man is the only animal which foresees death, he is not rendered miserable by the knowledge.

l. 86, *prest*. The history of this word is curious; for, according to most authorities, it is an example of a folk-etymology. Properly it is for the old French word *prester* (*préter*), to furnish or lend. Hence *prest-money*, money given in advance when a man was hired; and the verb to *imprest* (now to *impress*). Owing to the custom of arresting seamen and forcing them to serve in the Royal Navy, the idea of compulsion was connected with the old words *prest*, *imprest*, and they were supposed to be derived from *press*.

There is, however, no doubt that Pope uses the word *prest* in the ordinary sense of compelled; and it is incorrect to say that impressment did not exist in his time, for the power to arrest and compel sailors to serve in the Royal Navy dates back to the Middle Ages, and statutes regulating it were made in the reigns of Richard II., Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, William III., and Anne.

l. 97, raise, extol, commend.

"While wits and Templars every sentence raise
And wonder with a foolish face of praise."

Pope, "Prologue to the Satires," l. 211.

l. 104, *Demoivre*. Abraham de Moivre (1667-1754) was a famous French mathematician. He was a Protestant, and on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) he fled to England. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1697.

l. 108, forms the phalanx. The Greek formation for heavy infantry armed with spears. In the Macedonian phalanx the ranks were sixteen in number, forming a solid mass of great weight.

The general allusion is to the migration of birds. Before the storks migrate they assemble in great crowds and make much clattering noise with their bills; they are then commonly believed to be holding a consultation. Hence Pope's reference to "the council" in l. 107.

l. 110, proper, own (see note to i. 282 above).

l. 112, mutual, reciprocal, not common. The expression "mutual friend" for "common friend" is not strictly correct.

l. 118, genial, generating (see note to i. 133 above).

l. 127, wander earth. Note the transitive use of the verb (compare "roam" in l. 119 of this canto).

l. 133, still, ever.

l. 138, charities, instinctive acts of affection.

l. 140, These . . . those. Instinct secured affection for the newest born, habit secured it for their elder brothers and sisters.

l. 143, Memory and forecast. The memory of past benefits, and the anticipation of their own future dependence on others, cause the young to make proper returns to the old.

l. 147, Nature's State. Pope adopts a view of the state of nature which is entirely at variance with his general adhesion to the doctrine of Hobbes and Mandeville. According to Hobbes the state of nature, before society existed, was a state of warfare, and man's life was "nasty, dirty, solitary, brutish and short." But the new sentimentalism, of which Rousseau was thirty years later to be the greatest prophet, looked back to a golden age, when everybody was good and happy. Pope insists it was not a period of anarchy, but of theocracy. The sketch is, of course, purely imaginary. Science knows nothing of a "state of nature" before society; it is nearer the truth to say that society existed before the individual man.

l. 154, No murder clothed him. There was never a time when man did not kill the lower animals for food, dress, and sacrifice; and such killing is not murder. But the poets have been fond of representing the Golden Age as free from the horror of blood. Compare the "Georgics," ii. 537:

"Ante

Impia quam cæsis gens est epulata juvençis."

Pope, Thomson, Cowper, to mention no other English poets, have taught the same thing; and Shelley looks forward to the time when meat-eating shall cease.

l. 168, Savage, wild beast.

l. 174, the physic of the field. Warburton's note refers us to Pliny's "Natural History," I. viii. c. 17, "where several instances are given of animals discovering the medicinal efficacy of herbs by their use of them; and pointing out to some operations in the art of healing by their practice."

l. 177, nautilus. The *Nautilus argonauta* is an animal like an octopus, the female of which has a shell. Aristotle and other classical writers asserted that it raised its arms to act as a sail; but this is untrue, although more modern writers have repeated the story. It swims like other cuttle-fish, by squirting water backwards. Pope in a note quotes from a forgotten Greek poet (Oppianus, who lived towards the close of the second century, A.D.). In the "Halieutica," a poem on fishing, he gives the following account of the nautilus: "They swim on the surface of the sea on the back of their shells, which exactly

resemble the hulk of a ship; they raise two feet like masts, and extend a membrane between, which serves as a sail; the other two feet they employ as oars at the side. They are usually seen in the Mediterranean." Unfortunately this is largely fabulous.

1. 179, forms of social union. Bees, wasps, ants, beavers, rabbits, etc.

1. 183, policies. "A modern would say politics, which form is nearer the Greek πολιτεία" (E. E. Morris).

1. 198, or as Gods adored. "Pope adopts the vulgar belief of his time as to the origin of the deities of the Greek mythology. They were supposed to have been real men, benefactors to mankind, whom the gratitude of posterity had deified." This doctrine was taught in popular school books of the eighteenth century (Pattison).

1. 205, ravish, to seize, snatch (Latin, *rapere*).

1. 213, The same which in a sire. The same *virtue* which caused a father to be obeyed, caused a good and wise man to be recognized as a prince.

1. 223, drooping, sickening, dying. These words refer to the patriarch, not to his people.

1. 227, that this All begun. Plain tradition as to *how* this universe began. Note the use of *begun*, common enough at the time, instead of *began*.

1. 231, Ere wit oblique. Warburton sees here an allusion to the effect of the prism in analyzing the rays of sunlight.

1. 232, that all was right. Apparently a reference to Genesis, i.

1. 236, right divine. The doctrine of Divine Right recognized in the king a right to rule independent of the well-being or the wishes of his subjects; a right derived directly from God, and incapable of being questioned by man.

1. 237, No ill could fear in God. The comparative study of religion does not bear out this view. It is open to doubt whether religion began in nature-worship, fetishism, or ghost-worship; but fear is found as a factor in all three forms. And the observation of children undertaken by psychologists shows that the first apprehension of the supernatural has an element of terror. Savage deities are dreaded, and are usually cruel and tyrannical. The religions, like the morals and manners, of uncivilized peoples are far from being as charming as Pope and other sentimentalists have painted them. What follows in ll. 249-260 probably represents the primitive religion much more nearly.

1. 242, enormous, extravagant, beyond reason (Latin, *e*, out, *norma*, rule).

l. 245, and that conquest law. Law certainly did not originate in conquest, but rather in custom.

l. 246, Superstition taught the tyrant awe. This presupposes that superstition previously existed. If so, how did it arise, the primitive religion, as Pope supposes, being perfectly free from all taint of fear?

l. 260, would believe, would believe in. Such gods, formed like tyrants, tyrants would believe in.

l. 262, hell was built on spite. Of course this refers to the pagan religions; but probably there is a side glance at Christianity.

l. 263, sacred seemed the ethereal vault no more. Hence temples began to be built, and the apparatus of worship more splendid.

l. 264, reeked with gore. Pope thought that the original sacrifices were unbloody; this is probably a mistake. On the whole subject, see Lang, "Myth, Ritual, and Religion"; and Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites." *Reek* means to smoke (A.S. *reocan*).

l. 265, Flamen. Properly a special priest of Jupiter, Mars, or Quirinus, or some other Roman deity; here put for priest in general.

living food, animal food.

l. 267, shook the world below, frightened the world into believing he had command of the thunder of the gods.

l. 268, played, used, employed. Thus we speak of playing a certain card, a certain stroke, in a game.

l. 269, So drives. The careful reader will notice that no plausible account has been given to show that despotism is a late growth which comes into being through the assistance of superstition.

l. 273, For, what one likes. This line is very elliptical. What does it matter if one likes something, if others like it as well?

l. 274, serves, avails.

l. 280, Ev'n kings. Pope used to pose, like other "wits" of the time, as a sort of theoretical Republican. His reply to Frederick, Prince of Wales, is well known. It is best told by Horace Walpole: "'Mr. Pope, you don't love princes?' 'Sir, I beg your pardon.' 'Well, you don't love kings, then?' 'Sir, I own I love the lion best before his claws are grown'" (Letter to Mann, September 13th, 1741).

l. 286, The faith and moral Nature gave before. "Moral" is a noun and means "moral character," like the French substantive, *moral*. In the original edition it is followed by a comma.

l. 294, *well-mixed state*. The eighteenth century writers were fond of pointing out that the excellence of the English constitution lay in its mixed character—a combination of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.

l. 295, *Such is the world's great harmony*. Notice how Pope refers back to the striking central ideas of Epistle I., most emphatically expressed in ll. 291-294.

l. 303, *For forms of government*. This has, of course, a certain amount of truth; but used, as Pope uses it, to suggest that all forms of government are equally good it is absurdly wrong. If true, why the attack on tyranny which he has just delivered?

l. 305, *For modes of faith*. Here, again, Pope talks a superficial Liberalism which no genuine Liberal can accept. If all modes of faith are equally good, or bad, why does he denounce superstition with so much energy? We must remember that the competing beliefs cannot be restricted to the Christian or even monotheistic type, and that the worships of the obscene and bloodthirsty deities of ancient Syria and India, and of modern Ashanti and Dahomey, must claim under it an equal approval with Christianity.

Pope was a Roman Catholic by birth, and he never formally renounced that form of belief. In his letter to Atterbury, November 20th, 1717, which bears every mark of sincerity, he says: "Whether the change [to the Anglican belief] would be to my spiritual advantage, God only knows; this I know, that I mean as well in the religion I now profess, as I can possibly do in another. Can a man who thinks so, justify a change, even if he thought both equally good? . . . I hope all churches and governments are so far of God, as they are rightly understood and rightly administered; and where they are, or may be wrong, I leave it to God alone to mend or reform them; which, whenever he does it, must be by greater instruments than I am. I am not a Papist, for I renounce the temporal invasions of the papal power, and detest their arrogated authority over princes and states. I am a Catholic in the strictest sense of the word. If I was born under an absolute Prince, I would be a quiet subject; but I thank God I was not. I have a due sense of the excellence of the British constitution." In all this we see the man of kindly, tolerant, unheroic nature, who does not care to face the real difficulties, speculative or practical, which beset religious and political questions. Compare Cowley, "On the Death of Mr. Crashaw":

"His faith perhaps in some nice tenets might
Be wrong; his life, I'm sure, was in the right."

l. 308, **all mankind's concern is charity.** Compare Dryden, "Religio Laici" (ll. 449-450):

"For parts obscure are of small use to learn:
But common quiet is mankind's concern."

EPISTLE IV.

l. 3, **still, ever, always.**

the eternal sigh, viz., for happiness.

l. 7, **Plant of celestial seed.** A reminiscence of Milton.

"Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil."

"Lycidas," l. 78.

l. 9, **shine.** Found in the Prayer Book and in Spenser's "Faerie Queen," but unusual as a noun. Compare, however, the compounds, moonshine, sunshine.

l. 10, **flaming mine.** Pope forgets that diamond mines do not flame, and that the uncut stone has no special beauty.

l. 11, **Parnassian laurels.** Mount Parnassus was the abode of Apollo and the Muses.

l. 12, **iron harvests, battles.** It has been objected that *all* harvests are reaped with iron; but Pope is thinking of that which is reaped as well as that which reaps.

l. 15, **sincere, pure, free from alloy.** The old derivation of the Latin *sincerus* from *sine cerâ*, without wax, is now disputed.

l. 18, **St. John! dwells with thee.** St. John, like Pope, affected the love of virtue and the tranquil happiness which it is supposed to bring; but his mind was, says Elwin, "notoriously a prey to factious rancour and the pangs of disappointed ambition."

l. 20, **This bids to serve.** The Stoics advised that men should take a part in civil affairs; the Epicureans that they should withdraw from them.

l. 21, **Some . . . some.** If lines 21-24 are taken together, the first "some" seems to refer to the Epicureans, and the second to the Stoics. The Epicureans, as a matter of fact, laid great stress on ease and tranquillity; while the Stoics actually, as just now said, urged an active interest in public affairs. Pope, whose reading though large was never properly digested, may have been misled by passages like that in one of the minor works of Plutarch, in which Epicurus is said to have held that "It is more pleasant to give than to receive good," and like those in which the Stoic ἀπάθεια, or indifference to pleasures and desire is referred.

1. 23, **Some sunk to beasts.** The Epicureans, however, never taught that mere bodily pleasure is the highest good. Epicurus said that not all kinds of pleasure were worthy to be sought after, though all are in some sense good; temperance, simplicity of life, freedom, prudence, and friendship were strongly inculcated by him; virtue and pleasure he thought inseparable.

1. 24, **confess ev'n virtue vain.** "The Stoics" (Pope's note). But the Stoics as a body never said anything of the sort; nor did any of their chief thinkers. "The allusion is to Brutus' dying speech, citing the exclamation of Hercules in the tragedy, 'Miserable Virtue! Thou wert a name and I have pursued thee as a reality!'" (Pattison).

1. 26, **doubt of all.** The Greek sceptics, of whom the best known is Pyrrho, held that no truth was certain. Thus one of them refused to say that anything was sweet, and would only allow that it appeared to be so. They doubted the accuracy of perception, and the accuracy of the inferences from perception.

1. 32, **There needs but thinking right, and meaning well.** But right judgment and right motive are everything. What is the right judgment, and what is the right motive, are just the points in dispute.

1. 34, **common sense.** By common sense is here meant the judgment of the average man, the "man of very ordinary understanding," as Locke calls him. The appeal to common sense is characteristic of the age. The favourite writers all believed that in the unbiassed judgment of the average man would be found the solution of all philosophical and religious difficulties. The reaction against the specialized training of the clergy, lawyers, and doctors, with their "jargon" of technical terms, is seen not only in Pope, Addison, and Locke, but in Molière, Voltaire, and the Port-Royalists. Distrust in the expert and the specialist is deeply embedded in the mind of the plain man, with untrained intellect and superficial knowledge. "Every man," says Locke, "carries about him a touchstone, if he will make use of it, to distinguish substantial gold from superficial glitterings, truth from appearances" (Locke, "Conduct of the Understanding," § 3).

1. 40, **leans and hearkens to the kind.** A harsh admixture of metaphors. "Kind" of course means human-kind, as a species. Pope means that what is happiness for one, in some way or other, causes happiness to the race.

"This is not so certain as the eighteenth century optimists believed. Compare Sidgwick, "Methods of Ethics," bk. iv., chap. vi.

51, **but who infers.** Supply antecedent "he."

l. 55, But mutual wants. Compare iii. 112; and for the next line, i. 169.

l. 57, Condition, rank.
circumstance, wealth.

l. 59, In who obtain. Supply antecedent "those."

l. 70, those, viz., the so-called unhappy.

these, viz., the so-called happy.

l. 78, to mere mankind, to men as men. "Mere" is from Lat. *merus*, unmixed, pure.

l. 86, that take wrong means. Supply antecedent "those."

l. 92, One they must want. "Want" means do without. This is a poor argument. The thoroughly wicked man does not desire to pass for good, unless hypocrisy suits his purpose; and it is the thoroughly wicked man who is best at counterfeiting virtue.

l. 97, fools. The sentence is in form ambiguous; but "fools" is, of course, the subject.

The frequent use of this word in the "Essay on Man" has often been made the subject of comment. Pope uses it in the biblical sense, as implying moral as well as intellectual defect. But it implies a certain want of serenity which ill accords with the assumption of philosophical calm. One cannot help feeling that if Pope condescends to argue with the sceptic and the grumbler in order "to vindicate the ways of God to man," he ought not to put on this pose of righteous indignation. "Fool" may be pardonable in the mouth of the prophet, but is a little out of place in that of the apologist.

l. 99, Falkland. Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland (1610-1643), one of the most winning figures in the Civil War. The pupil of Chillingworth, the friend of John Hales, he largely sympathized with the political aspirations of the parliamentary side, but dreaded the narrow intolerance of the Puritanism with which it was associated. When war broke out, although he had obeyed the call of loyalty and drawn sword for the king, he looked with dread on the prospect. In one of the best remembered passages of Clarendon's "History of the Great Rebellion" we read how, "sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word 'Peace, Peace,' and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him and would shortly break his heart." He fell in the first battle of Newbury, 1643, aged thirty-three.

l. 100, Turenne. Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne (1611-1675), a brilliant French soldier who fought in

the Thirty Years' War against the Imperialists, and in the wars of the Fronde, after having for a time joined the *frondeurs*, fought against them, beating Condé in the battle of the Faubourg S. Antoine (1652). In 1668 he deserted his co-religionists—for he had been hitherto a Calvinist—and became a Roman Catholic. He again fought for Louis XIV. in his wars in Germany, and was killed at Sasbach, 1675. The epithet "godlike" is singularly out of place when applied to this unprincipled soldier, whose merciless cruelty in the campaign of 1674 in the Palatinate horrified even his contemporaries and his countrymen.

1. 101, **Sidney**. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) the nephew of the Earl of Leicester, the darling of Elizabeth's court, and the friend of Raleigh and Spenser. His "Apology for Poetry," "Astrophel and Stella," and "Arcadia" are important contributions to the literature of that great age. The story of his fatal wound at Zutphen is too well known to need repetition.

1. 104, **Digby**. The Honourable Robert Digby, died 1726, the son of William, fifth Lord Digby in the Irish peerage, who survived till 1752, aged ninety-two. Robert Digby was a correspondent of Pope's between the years 1717 and 1724. Pope wrote an epitaph for him (and his sister Mary) to be placed on the monument in Sherborne Church, Dorsetshire. See the Aldine edition of Pope, ii. 294.

1. 107, **Marseilles' good bishop**. Monsignor de Belsance (or rather Belsunce), bishop between 1709 and 1755. During the plague which devastated the city in 1720 he exerted himself with the greatest heroism on behalf of the victims. He afterwards refused translation to a more eligible see, founded a college at Marseilles, and died full of years and honour.

1. 110, **Lent a parent**. Pope's devotion to his mother is well known. She lived to the age of ninety-three. "The filial piety of Pope was in the highest degree amiable and exemplary; his parents had the happiness of living till he was at the summit of poetical reputation, till he was at ease in his fortune and without a rival in his fame, and found no diminution of his respect or tenderness. Whatever was his pride, to them he was obedient; and whatever was his irritability, to them he was gentle. Life has, among its soothing and quiet comforts, few things better to give than such a son" (Johnson's "Life of Pope," ed. by F. Ryland, p. 52). The poet's mother died in 1733, the year in which the "Essay on Man" was written; his father sixteen years earlier.

1. 112, **deviates Nature**. But *can* Nature deviate, according to Pope's view? The deviation can be only apparent.

1. 114, **partial evil**. Compare i. 292.

1. 115, **Or change admits**. This couplet is a bad example of the confusion and awkwardness which occasionally disfigure

Pope's style in consequence of its excessive compression. He means to say, "Or else it arises from change or as an exceptional event Nature gives rise to it." The meaning is as unsatisfactory as the expression. Pope's principle logically involves the denial of evil; what appears evil is not evil at all. But he here says that if evil, whether moral or physical, seems to occur, it is (1) because the partial evil is necessary to the good of the whole, or (2) because Change produces it, or (3) because Nature produces it exceptionally. Of course, (2) and (3) are no explanations at all, but simply a re-statement of the problem to be solved.

l. 116, **improved**. Ironically used. Nature produced little evil until man spoilt it. This is an anticipation by thirty years of the daring misstatement of Rousseau: "Tout est bien, sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses; tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme" ("Emile," liv. i.).

l. 121, **Th' Eternal Cause, God**.

l. 122, **Prone, inclined, disposed**.

l. 123, **if a sage requires**. "It is possible that we have here a confused allusion to two different facts—to the legend of Empedocles, and the authentic account of the death of Plinius" (Pattison). Empedocles is said to have thrown himself into the crater of Etna, that his disciples might think he had not died; while Pliny was killed by ashes thrown up during the great eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Pompeii, 79 A.D. This view is also taken (though, of course, there is no admission of any confusion) by Warburton in his note on the passage.

l. 126, **Bethel**. Hugh Bethel (died 1748) was a Yorkshire squire, a friend of Pope and of Pope's dearest friends, the Blounts of Mapledurham. One of the "Imitations of Horace" (Bk. II., Satire II.) is addressed to him. It contains the lines (9-10):

"Hear Bethel's sermon, one not versed in schools,
But strong in sense, and wise without the rules."

There is apparently a reference to this compliment in a letter to Bethel (dated August 9th, 1733). After mentioning the death of his mother, Pope says: "I have now but too much melancholy leisure, and no other care but to finish my Essay on Man. There will be in it one line that may offend you (I fear) and yet I will not alter or omit it. . . . In plain truth, I will not deny myself the greatest pleasure I am capable of receiving, because another may have the modesty not to share it. It is all a poor poet can do, to bear testimony to the virtue he cannot reach, besides that, in this age, I see too few good examples not to lay hold on any I can find."

1. 130, *Chartres*. Francis Chartres was a wealthy scoundrel whose name occurs in many satires of the age, always without a word of extenuation. He died in 1731, aged sixty-two. In a note to the "Moral Essays," Epistle III., Pope tells us that he was "a man infamous for all manner of vices. When he was an ensign in the army he was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat; he was next banished Brussels, and drummed out of Ghent on the same account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming tables, he took to lending money at exorbitant interest. . . . In a word, by a constant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind he acquired an immense fortune." Popular detestation broke out at his funeral. "The populace at his funeral raised a great riot, almost took the body out of the coffin, and cast dead dogs, etc., into the grave along with it."

reserve the hanging wall. Compare St. Luke, xiii. 4.

1. 137, *Calvin*. John Calvin (Cauvin), 1509-1564, who was the greatest of the French Reformers. Originally a priest, he adopted the new religion, and has left in his "Institutes" the most complete and logical statement of the creed generally known as "Protestantism." He was a man of great earnestness and integrity, but arbitrary, bitter, and cruel.

1. 140, *This cries, There is*. The excessive compression makes this a little difficult. It means that the admirers of Calvin regard every blessing that falls to him as a proof of God's existence, and every calamity as an argument against it; while those who dislike him, argue just in the opposite way.

1. 145, *Whatever is*. See i. 294.

1. 146, *was made for Cæsar*. A quotation from Addison's "Cato," act v., sc. i. Cato is meditating suicide and says:

"If there's a power above us
(And that there is all nature cries aloud
Through all her works) he must delight in virtue;
And that which he delights in must be happy.
But when? or where? This world was made for Cæsar.
I'm weary of conjectures—This must end 'em.
[Laying his hand on his sword.]"

Titus. See note to ii. 198.

1. 151, *That, sc. bread*.

1. 156, *Nor is his claim to plenty*. Pope shifts the statement in order to confute it more easily. The complaint he professes to answer is that "Sometimes virtue starves" (l. 149).

1. 160, *private, in a private state*.

1. 161, *why external for internal given?* As it stands in all modern editions this line seems out of place. But after "given" in the first edition, instead of a note of interrogation, we have a

comma. This makes much better sense of the line, which is no longer a separate question, but a parenthesis. "Why, if external rewards are to be given for virtue at all, should not man be a God at once?"

l. 170, **coach and six.** The plays and novels of the age show that people of fashion habitually drove about town with six horses, usually of heavy Flemish breed.

l. 171, **a gown.** Here, as the mark of a university degree.

l. 172, **its great cure, a crown.** Another of Pope's sneers at kings. See note to iii. 280. Perhaps Pope was thinking of George II., who, as Prince of Wales, had sometimes acted in opposition to his father's Whig ministers.

l. 175, **makes.** In the singular number, as the two parts of the subject taken together form one idea; the sum of "boy and man" comes to "an individual." So we often say, "two and three makes five," "twice three is six."

l. 177, **like the Indian.** See i. 99 *seq.*

l. 190, **love.** The object loved. A frequent usage in Elizabethan language. Pattison quotes from the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" (IV. iv.):

"I am my master's true confirmed love;"

but this, it may be objected, is said by a woman (Julia). Compare, however, Sir Philip Sidney's line:

"My true love hath my heart and I have his."

l. 192, **wants,** is without.

l. 193, **condition,** state of life.

l. 196, **One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade.** The two verbs seem to have got misplaced.

l. 199, **cowl.** A characteristic part of the dress of monks. Usually understood to mean only the hood, but properly applied to the cloak as well. Middle English form, *couel*. Pronounced so as to rhyme with "fool" in the next line.

l. 201, **acts the monk.** There is no need to suppose any special reference to the Emperor Charles V.

l. 203, **fellow.** In bad sense.

l. 204, **prunella.** So in all editions; but pronounced as ordinarily written, *prunello*. Johnson defines it "Prunello, a kind of stuff from which clergymen's gowns are made." It was a sort of silk. The name is, perhaps, from the French *prunelle*, a kind of plum, in reference to the original colour of the material.

l. 205, **strings,** ribbons of the various orders of knighthood

l. 206. **That.** This word is emphatic, and refers to **previous** line.

l. 208, **Lucrece**. Lucretia, the victim of Tarquin. Pope takes the illustration from Boileau ("Satires," v. 85-86):

"Si leur sang tout pur, ainsi que leur noblesse,
Est passé jusqu'à vous de Lucrèce en Lucrèce."

Hence, perhaps, the French pronunciation of "Lucrece."

l. 216, **Howards**. One of the oldest families in England, which stands at the head of the English nobility. The Duke of Norfolk, head of the house, who is "premier duke and earl" of the United Kingdom, holds a title (Earl of Arundel) dating back to the middle of the twelfth century.

l. 220, **Macedonia's madman**. Alexander the Great. Pattison gravely points out that "truth is here sacrificed to alliteration"; and quotes a parallel expression from Boileau ("Satires," viii. 99), "Cet écervelé, qui mit l'Asie en cendre."

the Swede. Charles XII. (1697-1718), whose brilliant and erratic course deeply impressed the middle of the eighteenth century. See Johnson's "Vanity of Human Wishes," 191-222.

l. 226, **Circumspective**, looking around. Used by Glapthorne, the dramatist, in the literal, and by Clarendon in the metaphorical sense.

ll. 228, 229, **weak, cheat**. Notice the rhymes. "Weak" rhymes with "fake"; "cheat" with "great." Some uncertainty seems to have prevailed in the eighteenth century as to the pronunciation, but the *ea* nearly always retained the sound it still preserves in "great." The Irish keep the ancient pronunciation, which we have in most cases given up for the *ee* (continental *i*) sound.

The rhyming of this part of the poem is very slipshod. We have here no less than eight consecutive lines ending in the same vowel sound, viz., take, weak [=wake]; cheat [=chate], great; brave, knave; obtains, chains. Pope's tolerance of this jingle of like vowels (assonance), forming a sort of imperfect rhyme, shows a certain dullness of ear. Compare note to ll. 307-308.

l. 235, **Aurelius**. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the good Emperor (161-180 A.D.).

bleed. Socrates did not "bleed," since he was executed by poison (399 B.C.).

l. 240, **my Lord**. Addressed to Bolingbroke.

Tully's, Cicero's.

l. 244, **Eugene**. Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736), the great general of the Empire, who, after brilliant successes against the Turks in 1693-97, divided with Marlborough the glories of the war of the Spanish succession. He afterwards won other laurels against the Turks at Peterwardein, Temesvar,

and Belgrade (1716-17), and was now (1734) again in the field.

l. 246, **Rubicon**. The river which divided Cæsar's province of Gaul from Italy proper, and which he crossed in defiance of the order of the Senate (B.C. 49), and thus began the civil war with Pompey.

Rhine. Eugene was now (1734) engaged in a campaign against the French on the Rhine during the war of the Polish succession (1733-35). It was unsuccessful.

l. 247, **A wit's a feather, and a chief a rod**. The obvious meaning of the line, the great wit is as light a feather; the great general is a penalty inflicted on mankind—the one a madman, the other an executioner. Pattison, however, sees an allusion “to the pen with which the wit writes, and the baton or truncheon which was the symbol of the authority of the general.”

l. 256, **huzzas**. Note the pronunciation, to rhyme with “weighs.” The word seems to be another form of “hurrah,” and is *not* derived from “hou! ça!” a hunting cry.

l. 257, **Marcellus**. M. Claudius Marcellus, one of Cæsar's chief opponents. After the defeat of the party of Pompey at Pharsalia (48 B.C.), he retired to Mytilene and devoted himself to rhetoric and philosophy. He was pardoned by Cæsar two years later; but on his way home he was assassinated at Athens by one of his attendants. Warton says that by Marcellus Pope intended the Duke of Ormond, one of the Tory ministers who shared the fall and exile of Bolingbroke and Oxford. Ormond remained in the service of the Pretender, and died abroad in 1746.

l. 259, **parts superior, superior abilities**. Note the ungainly inversion; much too common in Pope.

l. 260, **you**, *sc.* Bolingbroke.

l. 261, **how little can be known**. “Socrates was wont to say, ‘All that I know is that I know nothing.’ In our age it would seem that men know everything except what Socrates knew” (Sir W. Hamilton, “Lectures,” iv. 85).

l. 264, **a second**, one to back you up.

l. 267, **painful pre-eminence**. Quoted from Addison's “Cato” (iii. v.):

“Am I distinguished from you but by toils,
Superior trials, and heavier weight of cares?
Painful pre-eminence!”

l. 278, **Lord Umbra**. “There is no point in supposing any real character to be aimed at here” (Pattison). In any case it is probably *not* the “Umbra” of the poem bearing that

name, and of the "Satires of Dr. Donne versified" (iv. 177). This was Walter Carey, Warden of the Mint and Clerk of the Privy Council. Nor is it likely to be Bubb Doddington, the supple politician, who deserted Walpole, and acted as mentor to Frederick, Prince of Wales; he only became a peer in 1761.

Sir Billy. Probably Sir William Yonge, another minor politician of the time.

1. 280, **Gripus.** The Duke of Marlborough. The duke was famous for his avarice. Compare Pope's attacks on the duchess under the name of "Atossa" ("Moral Essays," ii. 115 *seq.*). She died worth £3,000,000 in 1744.

1. 282, **meanest of mankind.** It is hardly necessary to point out that Pope's rhetoric must not be taken too literally, and that Bacon's conduct as courtier and judge was certainly no worse than that of scores of other courtiers and judges in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. His officious ingratitude to Essex is the worst feature of his life.

1. 283, **ravished with the whistling of a name,** carried away by the love of fame; or perhaps, by the name of king. The view Pope takes of Cromwell was the usual one in the eighteenth century; and was, perhaps, not more absurd than the extravagant eulogy of Carlyle and some other modern writers.

1. 288, **Complete.** Note that this rhymes with "great."

1. 290. **these to ruin these betray.** The favourites of kings and queens betray their masters and mistresses to destruction. "How happy!" is a parenthetical adverbial to "lay."

1. 292, **as proud Venice rose.** The city is built on piles, driven into the mud of the lagoons. In the eighteenth century the ancient glories of Venice had not been forgotten. It was still remembered that

"Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West."

Pope's love of antithesis here, as elsewhere, leads him wrong. Every city is built on dirt of some sort or other.

1. 295, **Europe's laurels.** The lines that follow have an obvious applicability to the case of Marlborough, a man much hated by the Tory party. He had died in 1722, but the rancour of political enmity still pursued his memory.

1. 302, **minion, a favourite** (French, *mignon*).

imperious wife. Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, had the reputation of being violent and unforgiving.

1. 303, **storied halls, halls decorated with paintings or tapestry, depicting great victories.**

ll. 307-308, **fame, shame.** Compare lines 299, 330, ended by exactly the same words. The rhyming of the whole passage (299-326) is extremely loose and careless. Note the recurrence of the same rhymes in -essed, -ain, etc. See Introduction, p. xxvi.

l. 314, **in what it takes and what it gives.** A reminiscence of Portia's great speech in the "Merchant of Venice," act i., sc. iv.:

"It is twice blest,

It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

l. 322, **For ever exercised.** The subject of this and the next two lines is apparently virtue. The syntax of the whole passage has been often criticised.

l. 336, **But touches.** He can know no bliss except such as touches (that is, influences) the lot of others.

l. 337, **rising whole,** the universe which shows a gradual ascent.

l. 348, **Are given in vain.** An argument for the immortality of the human soul, on the ground that we have here instincts which can be only satisfied by immortality, and that Nature never gives an instinct without satisfying it. The argument was often used about Pope's time, which witnessed the beginning of a great increase of interest in natural history, and what is called natural theology.

l. 350, **His greatest virtue,** benevolence.

his greatest bliss, hopes of a happy life in the world to come. This is the subject to which both the next two lines refer.

l. 365, **strait, narrow.** Many modern editors read "straight" (as an adverb).

This simile had frequently been used by previous poets. Pope took it from a passage in Chaucer's "House of Fame," which he had imitated under the title of "The Temple of Fame" (1711). Pope's version of the passage runs thus:

"As on the smooth expanse of crystal lakes
The sinking stone at first a circle makes;
The trembling surface by the motion stirred
Spreads in a second circle, then a third;
Wide and more wide the floating rings advance,
Fill all the watery plain, and to the margin dance."

(ll. 436-441.)

l. 373, **my genius,** my tutelary spirit. The classical equivalent of the guardian angel. This is the use we find in Shakespeare; compare "Troilus and Cressida" (IV. iv. 52), and "Julius Cæsar" (II. i. 66).

The encomium of Bolingbroke which follows is, of course,

exaggerated; but, setting aside the prophecy and looking at the rest carefully, there is in it little that can be called positively untrue.

l. 391, urged by thee. See Introduction, p. x-xiii.

tuneful art, poetry.

l. 398, That Virtue only. According to Warburton, this read in the original MS.:

“That just to find a God is all we can,
And all the study of mankind is Man.”

THE UNIVERSAL PRAYER.

This was first added to the edition of the “Essay on Man” published in 1738. It was doubtless in part suggested by the desire to show that Pope accepted the more orthodox view of the “Essay” put forward by Warburton. He was particularly anxious to show that he did not deny Free Will. The poem may be regarded as the most earnest and impassioned utterance of the vague latitudinarianism, which was professed by most persons of culture in the age of Pope, whether calling themselves Churchmen, Dissenters, or Roman Catholics.

“Concerning this poem,” says Warburton, “it may be proper to observe, that some passages of the preceding ‘Essay’ having been unjustly suspected of a tendency towards Fate and Naturalism, the author composed this prayer as the sum of all, to show that his system was founded in Free-Will and terminated in piety; that the First Cause was as well the Lord and Governor of the Universe as the Creator of it; and that, by submission to his will (the great principle enforced through the ‘Essay’) was not meant the suffering ourselves to be carried along with a blind determination; but a religious acquiescence full of hope and [*sic*] immortality. To give all this the greater weight and reality, the poet chose for his model the Lord’s Prayer, which of all others best deserves the title prefixed to this paraphrase.”

Though Warburton calls it a paraphrase, it follows the Lord’s Prayer only in the first stanza and the last four.

According to Warton a stanza has been omitted, which ran thus:

“Can sins of moments claim the rod,
Of everlasting fires?
And that offend great Nature’s God,
Which Nature’s self inspires?”

This was to be the fourth stanza, but its insertion would doubtless have caused a fiercer outcry than ever on the part of the orthodoxy of the time. Free Will was a matter of speculation ; but Hell was a matter of dogma.

Deo Opt. Max. Deo Optimo Maximo, to God the Best and Greatest. These words were often placed in churches. Optimus Maximus was originally a title of Jupiter.

l. 26, bolts, thunder bolts, the supposed weapons of divine vengeance. Compare St. Luke, ix. 52-56.

l. 42, quickened with thy breath. Compare Genesis, ii. 7.

ll. 51, 52, raise, rise. This is an awkward ending, not only for partial likeness of sound where no rhyme is intended, but also because the similarity suggests antithesis where there is none.



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